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THE LARGENESS OF THE IMAGERY IN THE DEU- TERO-ISAIAH.

BY
BENJAMIN WILLARD ROBINSON

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

CHICAGO
Press of Geo. W. Danforth
1906

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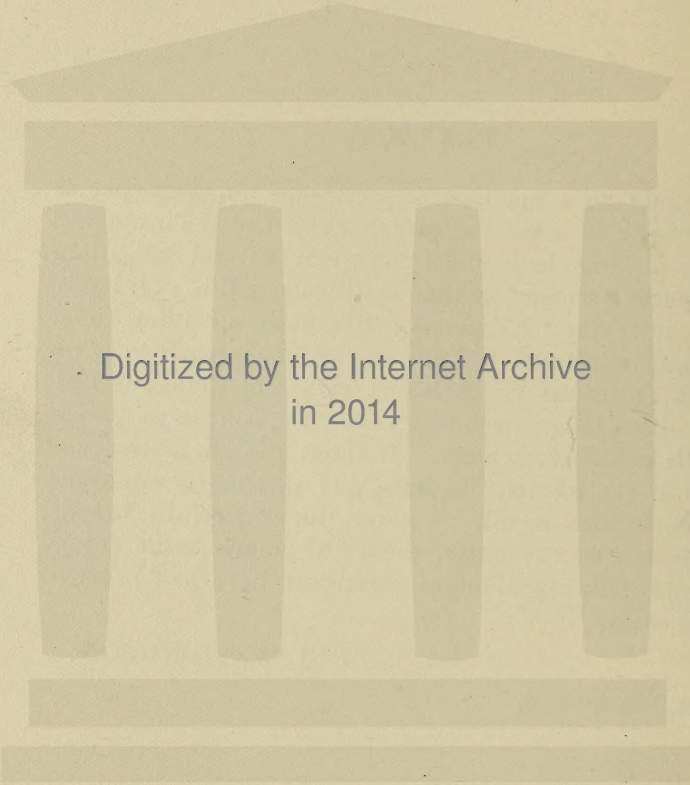
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PREFACE.

It would be a manifest impertinence for the writer of this brief book to name the professors in Union Theological Seminary to whom he is under a sense of grateful obligation. For he is still a student in that institution and is working in regular course for its diploma. But he is unwilling to let these pages be printed without saying how greatly he is indebted to Professors Gottheil and Prince of Columbia University. Both have shown him, to his frequent despair, what it is to be a Semitic scholar. Without the suggestion and stimulus of the former, chapter IV of this thesis would not have been written at all. Without the wonderfully helpful encouragement of the latter, the writer, much as he enjoys the oriental languages, might sometimes have lost heart in studying them.

BENJ. W. ROBINSON.

New York, May 29, 1906.



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THE IMAGERY IN DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

INTRODUCTION.

The poetry of the Deutero-Isaiah exhibits a small number of great images and a great number of small ones. The large figures, moreover, are fewer and the lesser more numerous than at first sight appears. For, on the one hand, in many verses study reveals in almost every word a picture previously unseen, and, on the other hand, what look to the casual reader like independent metaphors loosely succeeding one another often prove to be parts of one extended or compound piece of imagery, constituting a single tableau.

The numerousness of the lesser images is illustrated by the opening verses. "Comfort ye" (40:1) is literally "cause to breathe again." "Speak to the heart" (40:2) is the regular phrase for wooing (cf. Hosea 2:14) and carries the figure of courtship. "Jerusalem" (40:2) represents Israel not in her actual shape of a captive people in a foreign land, but as a community and city in her far-away and desolate country, a city really in ruins and without population. "Pardoned" (40:2) is literally "paid off," and "warfare" is "time of military service." Random yet striking instances of the ubiquity

of metaphor in the Deutero-Isaiah are: "vanish" (51:6), a Niphal from the same root as "rotten rags" (Jer. 38:11) and "maketh ready" (51:13), a word used technically of an archer directing his bow. Conjectural emendations of the text also, for the most part, tend to increase the bulk of the metaphors as when the abstract "in like manner" (51:6) is changed to "like gnats."

Nevertheless the main outstanding characteristic of the Deutero-Isaiah (Is. 40-55) is not its multitude of brief metaphors, but rather certain large and extended images, which include most of the smaller ones as metaphors within metaphors and constitute the bulk of the prophecy. These are the subject of the present paper. They appear in every chapter. A brief survey of the entire prophecy makes their constant presence clear. Chapter 40 shows a vast engineering enterprise which lifts every valley and lowers every mountain into one long, level highway from Babylon to Jerusalem (vs. 4). Here, too, is a colossal creator measuring the soil of the earth and weighing its mountains, and including between the finger and thumb of his hand the distance from horizon to horizon (vs. 12). Chapter 41 calls together a kind of ecumenical council of the nations (vs. 1), draws the career of Cyrus in large lines (vss. 2, 3, 25), and compares Israel to a threshing instrument huge enough to thresh and winnow mountains as chaff (vss. 15, 16). In chapter 42 the servants' work reaches to the utmost bounds of the earth (vs. 4), and the paeon to Jehovah makes sailor and landsman, city and wilderness, valley and mountain-top join in one chorus of praise (vss. 10-12). In Chapter 43 Israel's ransom is all the nations of Africa taken together (vss. 3, 4), and with the great Exodus journey and its water from the rock, is compared the new pathway to Babylon, where jackals and ostriches give mute thanks as they drink at miraculous rivers (vss. 17-20). Chapter 44 gives a remarkably complete picture of idol manufacture and worship (vss. 9-20), and again makes the universe vocal from the highest heavens to the lower parts of earth (vs. 23). In chapter 45 we have the same broad and graphic sweep of Cyrus' career (vss. 1-3) and the

colossal ransom of African nations advances into the figure of a colossal procession falling down in chains before Jerusalem (vs. 14). Chapter 46 likens Jehovah's carrying of Israel, not only as one vast nation, but from its earliest origins, to the Babylonians carrying their gods (vss. 3, 4), and again summarizes the swiftness and swoop of Cyrus' conquests under the figure of a ravenous bird (vs. 11). Chapter 47 is able by the largeness of its grasp to compress the ruin of the whole Chaldean world-power into the figure of one disgraced female slave (vss. 1-7), and to see the vision of her merchants, gathered from every quarter of the world, scattered to the lands from which they came (vs. 15). Chapter 48 again strikes the note of a great world creator (vs. 13) and has the great river Euphrates flowing through it (vs. 18). Chapter 49 commands the dim coastlands of the farthest horizon to listen (vs. 1), and will not draw the limits of Israel's mission short of the ends of the earth (vs. 6). Here, also, is the companion figure to the daughter of Babylon. Zion dresses herself with great populations as if she were putting them on as clothes (vs. 18), and the world-reaching signal of command is given to the nations to return all the dispersed of Israel (vs. 22). Chapter 50 has the image of a great divorce of the whole nation from Jehovah and of a great sale of all the population as children to a creditor (vs. 1) and once more the great image of the Nile-miracle appears (vs. 2). Chapter 51 sees nothing less than the solid vault of heaven passing away like smoke and the earth like a worn-out garment (vs. 5), after which come new heavens and a new earth (vs. 16). It depicts Jehovah as stirring up and quieting the ocean (vss. 10, 15) and closes with likening the afflicted nation to an intoxicated woman fallen in the street and her back made as the ground for men to walk over (vss. 17-23). Chapter 52 describes a company of heralds on the Judean hills proclaiming salvation to Zion (vs. 7), and it is in the eyes of all the nations that the holy arm of Jehovah is made bare while the ends of the earth see his salvation (vs. 10). Even the highly subjective and individualized picture of the suffering servant in chapter 53, including the last verses of 52, is not

without features of largeness. The servant startles many nations, and kings are dumb with astonishment before him (52:15). Jehovah divides him a portion with the great and he divides the spoil with the strong (vs. 12). Chapter 54 recurs to the primeval deluge of Noah with its vanishing mountains (vss. 9, 10) and reconstructs Jerusalem with precious stones big enough to serve for building stones (vss. 11, 12). Chapter 55 compares the new kingdom to the old one in its great extent and power under David (vss. 3-5), declares Jehovah's ways to be as much higher than men's ways as the heavens are above the earth, and closes with another choral song in which mountains and hills and all the trees of the wilderness join in a great concert of joy.

The rapid survey just made incidentally serves to indicate the definition of metaphorical largeness which this paper intends. It is simply that the main images in which the poet-prophet sees and sets forth the truths he utters are large. It may be the largeness of physical size, or the largeness of historical range, or the largeness of broad or complete mental survey. But the general fact of largeness having been made evident, the main body of the paper inquires: I. What are the causes or the sources of the largeness? II. In what ways does the largeness exhibit itself? III. What are the results of the largeness? IV. What use is made of it in the New Testament?

CHAPTER I.

THE SOURCES OF THE largeness.

(a) The exile freed Israel from its narrow national round of ritual observance. It reduced the people to, or emancipated them into, the larger meanings of their religion. Larger meanings seek expression in larger images, and the forced geographical migration of Israel to a point outside her original habitat was calculated to produce an effect analogous to the inward migration of thought which set Jesus and Paul on high mountain tops of vision apart, where they could see the faith of the old covenant as an historic whole, and in the light of its great spiritual principles. Forced away from the external, Israel in exile could mine into the inner and spiritual. The geographic emancipation set the imagination of Israel free to live in larger mental landscapes.

(b) The nation has traveled. It has had a long tramp of seven hundred miles. Upon the journey's experiences the annals are nearly silent. But Ezra required four full months to accomplish the same distance (Ezra 7:9). It was equal to journeying around the world to-day. Successive daily landscapes dissolving one into another lay in long panorama upon the canvas of the exile's soul. Imagination paints its pictures with the pigments of actual experiences and known facts. If not with his own feet, yet in thought, our prophet had trodden out the long itinerary. The way of the sea, the fords of Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles, the circuit of Hermon, the neighborhood of Damascus, the two Lebanons, Hamath, Arpad, the rolling greatness of the Euphrates, the journey southward, the prospect from His (certified to us as one of the great view-points of the world),—all these with their moun-

tains, valleys, bare heights, rivers, and long stages of wilderness-marching constituted a huge bulk of material for the powerful, constructive imagination of our prophet. If he should wish to make the return of his people to Jerusalem a great and glorified Exodus he would have the poetic material for the enlargement and the irradiation.

(c) Contact with the physical immensity and enduringness of Babylon and her empire made a further contribution of largeness. There were the huge buildings with the huge areas between, the vast squares and the high portals guarded by giant bulls. There were the broad wharves, the wide flights of stairs, and the terraces, the hanging gardens, the pyramids, and the towers. They might make the broken-hearted Jew feel that he was a mere worm crawling in the presence of striding monsters (41:14). But to the great soul of our prophet they would merely make large the outlines of his vision of the complete destruction of it all, as his taunt-song in Chapter 47 shows us. The "mistress of kingdoms" (vs. 5), the "mistress forever" (vs. 7), "the astrologers, stargazers, and monthly prognosticators" (vs. 13), the "traffickers" from every quarter (vs. 15), reveal at the same time the prophet's sense of Babylon's hugeness and his superiority to it.

(d) The power of historic review to enlarge mental conceptions must be added. The book of Kings concludes with the thirty-seventh year of the captivity (II Kings 25:27). It is to the exile that we owe a large part of the historical books of the Old Testament; our prophet could write with the expanded vision of one who had just risen from their perusal. We do not understand our history while we are living it. We cannot see the true shape of the woods while we are in among the trees. But the exile was a kind of closure for Israel's history, and our prophet could see from a favorable distance the sharp, strange outline its forest made upon the Judean hills.

(e) A certain largeness of view and vision was helped on by the leisure of the captivity. "An air of large leisure" invests the writings of Ezekiel. He "broods, gazes, and builds

his visions up." The Deutero-Isaiah by contrast writes with a hot and rapid pen; nevertheless the fire burns in his prophecies because he too has been musing. His pictures are not slow aggregations, but sudden inspirations; nevertheless he is not didactic and does not preach directly to his countrymen. His writing rushes on fast enough; but the greatness of his imagery betrays long, slow brooding over his vast problem until at last its greatness has been mastered by his greater greatness.

(f) There is evidence also that the far-reaching conquests of Cyrus powerfully affected the imagination of our prophet by the great distances they covered and the immensity of the circuit they made. He sees the conqueror start from his native Anshan immediately east of Babylonia (41:2) and with quick curving from east to north immediately menace the oppressor of his people from that point of the compass (41:25). He sees victory meet him at every step (41:2). "Sieg fällt ihm zu auf Schritt und Tritt" (Marti). Whole nations with their kings are as dust and stubble before his sword and bow (41:2). His swiftness scarcely seems to touch the earth with its feet (41:3), albeit the tread was heavy enough to crush rulers as mortar and as a potter treadeth clay (41:25). He is Jehovah's world shepherd (44:28), and has many another honorable appellation (45:4). He disarms kings and bursts through the gates of walled cities (45:1). The whole habitable world is afraid and the ends of the earth tremble before him (41:5). The distant treasures of the Lydian Croesus are his booty (45:3). And when the swiftness and swoop of this ravenous bird from the east have finished their far-reaching flight (46:11), those among all the heathen nations that have escaped Jehovah's world-wide judgment at the hands of the conqueror, if there be any such, are asked to put in an appearance (45:20). Each and all of these details show how our prophet grasped and was grasped by the greatness of Cyrus' career.

(g) Some account must be taken, too, of the enlarging and emancipating power of suffering, unless we are to neglect what emerges from the study of the suffering servant (50:5-7;

52:13-53:12). The exiles, roughly speaking, were made up of two generations. One was guilty and banished into exile while the other was born in captivity, and innocent of the sins for which it was the punishment. Suffering raises the question "Why?"; and the innocent suffering mixed with the guilty suffering enlarged the thought of the prophet who was great enough to receive the enlargement and to include it all under Jehovah's one plan and purpose, till he felt that his people not only suffered under God's wrath but for the sake of a great work among the nations. Under this tuition his nation came to seem to him not simply a felon but also a martyr.

(h) Yet all this was but environment, and had it not been for the greatness of the prophet's genius, would have gone for nought,—as indeed it did go with most of his generation, and these great chapters would have been left unwritten. Not every traveled exile in a great foreign city and at leisure to review and crystallize his nation's history is stimulated by news of the broad conquests of a Persian king into being a Deutero-Isaiah. He is, indeed, a Great Unknown, but our entire study is a testimony to the creative largeness of his genius. Experience and environment set him with many others upon a lofty and commanding elevation. He alone had eyes to see the greatness of the landscape and he alone had the artistic scope and the religious genius to throw it all upon one large canvass. Outside his prophecies there is no material for his biography. But they alone are a monument to his personal greatness. To recite its elements here would of course be hardly more than to anticipate the analysis of the following pages. This is his difference from Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Isaiah heads his prophecies with names of kings in whose reigns he spoke. He begets children and gives them symbolic names. He gets his mission in the abasement and exaltation recorded in his sixth chapter and has his heroic personal encounters with the royalty of his day. Jeremiah names his father, expresses his own feeling of childish incapacity and recites his relations with the men against whom he prophesies. When the first edition of his prophecies has been burned he issues a second with additions, suffers in his dungeon, and goes with his people into

Egyptian exile. Ezekiel, also, writes beside a river whose name he gives and at a date whose year and month and day he notes. Using the pronoun of the first person, he gives not a little material toward his biography. But our prophet remains the Great Unknown. We may express the fact by saying that he stands at such an elevation above his subject that he cannot be a figure in its development; or by saying that he has sunk himself so deeply in it that he has lost his personality and become merely a voice; or yet again, by saying that he has made Jehovah's redemption so great that he is completely hidden behind it. All three statements are true and perhaps we may add that like Shakespeare, and like Shakespeare alone, he so absorbs himself in the living movement of his *dramatis personae* that nothing but the physical, mental, and spiritual action of his characters is visible upon his stage. To him must be assigned the greatness of a universalism which portrays creation and new creation, and covers the entire world movement of his day so far as it was visible and yet does it all with absolute self-effacement.

But the distinguishing characteristic ever remains the largeness of the prophet's visions, his special capacity to grasp with utmost ease that which is great and universal whether in physical size or in intellectual range, and his creative imagination in setting it forth. And the emphasis of his ministry corresponds to the greatness of his vision. He gives his strength to rebuking the uncomprehensiveness and the limited vision of his countrymen. He cannot understand why men cannot go back to the beginning (40:21; 41:26; 46:10; 48:16). He rebukes lack of intellectual range as if it were a deficiency in moral quality. The sin of the idolator is not in thinking that a spiritual being can be represented by man's manufactures but in thinking that so *large* a being can be likened to anything so small (40:12-26); not in the essential coarseness of image worship but in not having a wide enough understanding to gather into one conception the whole history of the material of which the idol is only a part. The idolator ought to include the heating, cooking, and other uses of the same substance (44:19). He ought to consider the whole history of an idol from the

planting of the tree it came from (44:14) to the ashes left after the fuel portion was burned (44:20). It is a *resumé* reproach (compare the complete sweep of description from vs. 12). So pervasive is this rebuke of smallness of vision that we sometimes mistake it for a rebuke of wrong vision. When our prophet says that Jehovah's ways and thoughts are as much higher than the ways and thoughts of Israel as the heavens are higher than the earth (55:9), the point of the contrast is not the moral elevation of the divine thoughts as opposed to the degradation of those of the wicked. But by Jehovah's thoughts and ways the prophet means his purposes of redemption which are too vast and sublime to be measured by the narrow conception of despondent captives (Cf. Marti, Skinner et al, *in loc*). The perpetual appeal is not to the purity and holiness of the divine character, but rather to the creator of the ends of the earth, the everlasting duration of his being, and the depth and power of his understanding (cf. 40:28). And the prophet himself always rises with easy courage from the self-deification and self-eternalizing of Babylon (47:8, 7) to the everlastingness of Jehovah and the sure ruin of the oppressor. Without a tremor of hesitation he declares that the despised and abhorred shall be worshipped and honored and that poor little Israel is to be the salvation of nothing less than the whole world (49:6, 7).

And as our prophet can fuse the elements of a process or the incidents of a history into one living picture, so also he finds no self-contradiction in the union of antithetical conceptions which lesser minds separate and only one of which they develop. In his anthropomorphic figuring of Jehovah the Deutero-Isaiah is able to combine transcendent elevation above the world with the most passionate and intimate mingling in its affairs. The transcendence was at a later period carried out to the extreme of placing a hierarchy of angels between the people and Jehovah who himself was too exalted to touch human affairs. On the other hand the mixing in human affairs was carried so far as to make the Messiah hardly more than a military and political hero. It is part of that greatness of the Deutero-Isaiah, shown in the greatness of his imagery, that he

unites the two elements in his portraiture of the one God. As it was part of the greatness of Kant that he combined the two directions of philosophic thinking which his successors have separated and followed in opposite directions and with the most opposite results; and as it was the greatness of Paul that he could in the same sentence tell men to work out their own salvation for it was God who worked in them the willing and the doing: so the Deutero-Isaiah feels no contradiction between his portraiture of Jehovah as on the one hand the omnipotent creator of the earth and the infallible ruler of men, and his portraiture, on the other hand, of a suffering, struggling deity fighting for his people down in the valleys and up on the mountains of the earth (42:13, 14 cf. 63:1-6).

CHAPTER II.

FEATURES OF THE LARGENESS

The largeness of imagery in the Deutero-Isaiah is not only salient but thoroughgoing. Even the shorter metaphors which are included within the few great and extended ones, as well as those that lie outside, often show features of largeness. If we study each instance in detail, and then gather them all together with a view to classification, we find them dividing into six groups, which may be termed (1) geographic, (2) historic, (3) national, (4) anthropomorphic, (5) elaborative, (6) dramatic.

I. The geographic features which our prophet's imagination uses are of great physical size. His one great message was that the people of God were to be led from Babylon through the wilderness to Jerusalem, and were there to be renewed into a glorious commonwealth with a universal mission. It is along the itinerary of that material and spiritual career that we follow the physical features of the prophet's imagery.

(a) Our prophet was with his people in Babylon, though his heart was far away. While he seems sometimes to have thought of their various wretched restrictions and limitations there as so many separate holes and prison-houses (42:22), his preferred image for Babylon is that of one great "dungeon" or dark "prison-house" in which his blind nation was immured (42:7). The mighty river that rolled through the city, however, was, if we may accept the text as genuine, in its rolling greatness, an emblem, as a Judean summer-dried wady could not have been, of the full flowing prosperity rewarding an obedient people (48:18).

(b) Nor is the highway of return thought of in small sections of roadway, but as one colossal thoroughfare for whose construction the divine engineer elevated or depressed at will the great mountain and valley features of the landscape (40:4), while the whole population of the earth looked on in wonder (40:5). And as looking out from Babylon one great highway to Jerusalem was seen, so the final stretches running into Jerusalem itself are, as if for completeness' sake, especially mentioned. "I will make all *my* mountains a way" (49:11). We raise no question of the proportion of literal and spiritual meaning to be assigned to this highway. Such enquiries are outside our present limits. It is the stupendousness of the physical image that we remark. Nor ever did our western states witness such a colossal acreage of planting and irrigation as was traversed by the prophet's highway. A later pen might deal in beautiful words with domestic watered gardens (58:11; 61:11), but our prophet must have rivers on bare heights and fountains in the midst of the valleys; the wilderness must be a pool of water and the dry land springs of water (41:18); the whole desert journey must be shaded with all the great wild trees of the forest (41:19); and lest we should miss the vastness of the landscape he has in mind, he dots his wilderness with cities and takes us out into the villages of Edomitish Kedar and Sela (42:11).

(c) When we arrive at Jerusalem itself we find the city rebuilt on a surpassing scale. There are no exact dimensions, like those of the apocalyptic vision (Rev. 21:16), but nothing small is to be endured in the specifications. Sapphires, rubies, and carbuncles must be furnished of sufficient size for the foundations and the structural work (54:11, 12). The mountains round about Jerusalem, too, made doubly dear by the contrast of the flat Babylonian lands, as well as because of their being the greatest feature of any landscape, frequently emerge in our prophecy. We have seen how they are removed from the pathway of the return. They break forth into singing also before the advancing host (55:12). It is upon them that the feet of the heralds of deliverance are beautiful (52:7), and from them that the tidings are shouted

to Jerusalem (40:9). It is from the tops of the mountains also that the inhabitants of Sela join in the universal shout and song of praise (42:11). The vast threshing instrument to which the servant-people is likened shows its size and efficiency by threshing mountains (41:15). The loving kindness of Jehovah has such large and abiding solidity that the immovable mountains, but not it, may take their departure (54:10). And if Jehovah is really the great creator, the scales he uses for weighing his material must be large enough to hold mountains in their pans (40:12). The great Lebanon and anti-Lebanon ranges afford an allied image. The entire area of the forests that cover their slopes would furnish a colossal pile of fuel, and the animals, wild and domestic, that live there would furnish a tremendous hecatomb. But even so, the burnt offering would be utterly insufficient for Jehovah (40:16).

(d) Another set of great images is furnished by the sea. The mariners upon it join in the great choral song to Jehovah (42:10). Its broad and rolling surface represents the universal sweep of Israel's victorious redemption (48:18; cf. 11:9). Familiar to our prophet is also the vast primeval ocean from whose devouring dragon-jaws the habitable world was delivered (51:9, 10) (cf. the Babylonian Tiamat myth of the creation). A similar comparison of the sea to a restless, unruly creature waging impotent war with heaven and seeking to devour the land, but a creature whom Jehovah holds completely in his power, now stirring it to fury and again stilling the mighty monster into quietness, recurs a few verses farther on (51:15), although it is the present ocean, rather than the mythological, that is now in view. And out of the sea on the far western horizon arise the "isles"; for whether by this term is meant nations, dry soil, or coast-lands, the poetic figure seems to be that of some great territory or promontory rising from the distant sea or from a sea of mist which covers the horizon. It is the image of populous lands, remote, huge, and in some sense maritime (40:15; 41:5; 42:4, 10; 49:1; 51:5). But none of our prophet's references are to

the sea as whispering, laughing, or resounding; with him it always connotes some form of hugeness.

(e) The earth and the heavens, in fact the entire visible frame of things, is also viewed by our prophet not so much as created in successive details (cf. Gen. I) as by one or two great strokes. Jehovah comprehends the soil of all the earth in one measure (40:12). Jehovah spreadeth abroad the earth (44:24). He stretcheth forth the heavens (44:24) as a curtain or as a tent (40:22), and brings out the whole host of the stars by number (40:26). Finally, our prophet conceives the astounding image, which has become commonplace to us, but can never be surpassed in its audacious immensity, of the earth waxing old like a garment and its inhabitants dying like gnats, of the heavens vanishing away like smoke (51:6), and of the foundations of the earth being laid anew and the heavens being replanted with fresh constellations (51:16).

The features, then, in the landscape of our prophet's vision are large,—large either in their own nature, like the mountains, the sea, the heavens, and the earth, or large because of the size in which he sees them, like his forests, rivers, and wilderness. In either case they are in sharp contrast with the neat and frequently effective little metaphors in which small, fine minds delight.

Akin to this largeness of individual objects is the wide horizon covered by the prophet's view. The scope includes not only the mountains of Judea already referred to, but Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sabea (43:3; 45:14), the islands of the west (41:1 *et al.*), and the ends of the earth (40:28; 41:5; 41:9; 43:6; 45:22; 52:10). The frequency of these allusions, as indicated by the references just given shows how constantly the prophet's eye was fixed upon the utmost margin of things, as if he would have nothing, however distant, escape the totality of his view. He looks to every point of the compass. He sees Cyrus coming from the east (41:2), and from the north (41:25). The north must give up its exiles, and the south must not keep them back. Some shall come from the north and some from the west (49:12).

2. From the geographic largeness in our prophecy we pass to the historic, and we are quite in line with the genius of the Deutero-Isaiah if we begin history at creation. His love of origins and consummations is disclosed in the great images, lately cited, of cosmic dissolution and palingenesis (51:6, 16). In his frequent figurative uses of *tohu* our prophet has in mind the chaos on which creation supervened. It is just after his great picture of Jehovah's creative power (40:12) that he says the nations are as vanity (*tohu* 40:17); and it is just after the other great picture of the stretching out of the heavens as a curtain and spreading them out with the same ease as one pitches an ordinary dwelling tent (40:22), that he says that the judges of the earth are made like confusion (*tohu* 40:23). The great genesis of the cosmos and the vast formless chaos out of which it came bulk large in his imagery. Molten images are wind and *tohu* (41:29). They that fashion a graven image are all of them *tohu* (44:9). Jehovah is introduced as he that created the heavens and formed the earth (45:18; 42:5; 44:24). It is because of the same prerogative that he has raised up Cyrus (45:12). In one interesting instance (40:21) the vividness with which the great image of creation lay in our prophet's mind is especially evident. In the sentence, "Have ye not understood (from) the foundations of the earth?" we should neither omit "from," as the Hebrew text, apparently by accident, has done, nor take "foundations" in the sense of "founding," for the parallelism requires the temporal sense, and the concrete *fundamenta* in no other case has the abstract meaning *fundatio*. It is simply a case of vivid imagery running away with syntax. The prophet started with the temporal preposition "from," but by the time he reached its object the vivid picture of the foundations of the earth overcame the abstract idea of founding, and he wrote the word in its concrete form. And, again, as the destruction of nations, judges, and princes is conceived of as a kind of reduction of them to primeval chaos, so it is in verbs that belong to Jehovah's creative activity that his special work with Israel is described. "Create" is used, among other passages, in 43:1, 7, 15; "form" in 43:1, 21; 44:2, 21,

24; 49:5; "make" in 44:2; 51:13; 54:5. It is with this same love of origins that the servant of Jehovah is spoken of as formed from the womb (44:2, 24; 49:5). So, too, the nations are called from the beginning (41:4). And both the forgers and users of weapons are declared to be Jehovah's creation (54:16).

If now we pass on to the history proper, we find our prophet using none of its small incidents, such as Adam's eating the forbidden fruit or the dove bringing back the olive branch to the ark, or David eating the shewbread; but always the large, general, or total aspect of great events, situations, ages, or eras is the object of reference. Zion's wilderness is to be made like Eden and her desert like the garden of Jehovah (51:3). Jehovah's wrath is to cease, as the waters of Noah are no more to go over the earth (54:9). Even Abraham and Sarah cannot be seen as a simple pair of progenitors, but as a great quarry out of which the nation has been dug (51:1, 2).

A prophet in love with largeness could not fail to use imagery from the great national exodus out of Egypt with its attendant wonders. Yet even here there is no recalling of such details as the plagues of flies and vermin, or even the giving of the manna. The thick darkness over the land (Ex. 10:2, 22) is remembered (50:3). The foulness of the dead fish when the Nile was turned to blood (Ex. 7:18) is referred to (50:2). The people are not to go out of Babylon in haste or by flight as in Ex. 13:21f; 14:19 (52:12). The Euphrates is to be dry for Cyrus (44:27). The recently discovered inscriptions, however, seem to show that Herodotus' story of Cyrus' changing the river channel is legendary as far as Cyrus is concerned, and our last reference, therefore, hardly permissible. Whatever waters of trouble Israel passes through shall not overflow her (42:3). She may rely upon Jehovah, who made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over (51:10), and who quenched the life of Pharaoh's horses and horsemen as one quenches a wick, and sunk his chariots beneath the returning sea (43:17). The

wonder of the water from the smitten rock shall be eclipsed in this new exodus by making of rivers in the wilderness, at which the very jackals and ostriches drinking shall by their animal joy unconsciously give honor to Jehovah (43:19, 20). And yet the final reference to the cleft rock and gushing water is in its way equally beautiful by its rich simplicity of almost unadorned quotations (48:21). And as only Eden, Abraham, and the Exodus are referred to in the history of the people before they reached their own land, so the entire annals of the kingdom are touched only at the one point of its greatness under David as a leader and commander to the peoples (55:4, 5). In considering the external sources of the greatness of our prophet's imagery we have already (pp. 8, 9) traversed his comprehensive references to the great and crushing sweep and swiftness of Cyrus' conquests. But if anyone will compare the romantic and beautiful details of Cyrus' character and achievements in Herodotus and Xenophon with the references made by our prophet, the latter's disregard of details and his powerful grasp and use of the great features only will be freshly apparent. If, moreover, we review the multitude of relatively small attractive incidents in which the history of our prophet's own nation also abounded,—incidents of family life, of military heroism, and of miraculous interposition,—the more remarkable it seems that he has used none of them, but only the great features to which we have referred.

3. In passing to the Deutero-Isaiah's personifications, it may be necessary to make a prefatory distinction. The object or collectivity, such as a nation or people, which is viewed as a person has its own material size, while the person which represents it has also its size as seen by the imagination. The figurative or imaginative person has, of course, no very definite dimensions. Statues, however, representing countries or nationalities, such as Columbia or Italia, are usually made of heroic or even colossal proportions. Their greatness, however, is the greatness of content, rather than of extent. It is what they stand for that makes them great. Now the great-

ness of the Deutero-Isaiah's personifications lies in the double fact that he is able, on the one hand, to conceive in a most effective way of a whole people as a single person, and, on the other hand, is able, as we shall see later on, to conceive of a spiritual being like Jehovah under the most tremendous anthropomorphic proportions. Speaking in a general way, he can begin with a great object and reduce it to a small representative figure or metaphor and immediately, if he desires, expand its proportions over the hugest mental areas. He can call his entire people Jacob (cf. 44:1) and call Jacob a mere worm, and then in the next breath leap to the utmost conceivable opposite of a worm, converting the worm into a threshing instrument that pulverizes mountains and reduces hills to chaff fine enough for the wind to winnow and the whirlwind to scatter (41:14, 15). The capacity to reduce immense bodies of people to a minute figurative representation is frequently in evidence. The nations are as drops of water falling off the edge of a bucket carried by Jehovah (40:15). They are as a grain of sand (*ibid*). An island—that is, a great distant nation—is like an atom of dust that rises in the air (*ibid*). In similar fashion, peoples and kings are as wind-driven dust and stubble before the sword and bow of Cyrus (41:2). The whole nation of Israel is like the spoil which a band of robbers seizes and carries away (42:24), or like the booty which a single hero has captured (49:24), while a stunted shrub struggling for existence in an arid soil may, if we rightly understand the text, represent the whole body of exiles, with their political disabilities and religious deprivations (53:2).

(a) But coming to the personifications themselves, we note that the isles are seen under the figure of a trembling human body (41:5). The captive nation is addressed as though it were one person who had made Jehovah to serve with its sins (43:24). It is viewed as an individual enemy upon whom a fiery warrior pours out the flame of his anger in battle and, as it were, sets him on fire (42:25). Compare, for the figure, Deut. 32:22. Again, it is called by name, as if it were a single friend who is familiar and dear (43:1),

or one woman being wooed (40:2). Yet again, the nation is spoken of in words which remind us of Jeremiah in his dungeon (Jer. 38:9, 10), as a single prisoner in danger of death through starvation (51:14). It appears to be the personified nation, also, into whose one mouth Jehovah puts his words and whom he covers with the shadow of his hand (51:16).

(b) And as the oppressed nation as a whole is personified, so are the Babylonians who oppress her. They are *he* that contendeth with Israel (49:25). They are a bowman just discharging his arrow (51:13). The finest personification of the Babylonian power, however, is the taunt-song in chapter 47. Babylon has been a delicate and luxurious lady of the harem. She is now reduced to the shameful condition of a slave. She must leave her throne and sit on the ground. She must grind with the millstones like the meanest household slave. She must strip off her train and do the drudgery. She must leave the sunlight of publicity and retire into darkness and obscurity. She must be childless and widowed. And all the kingdoms and their resources which have been at her call are of no avail to rescue her. Nay, they are consumed as stubble is by fire, while every former helper flees in dismay (47:1-15).

(c) Before noting the personification of Babylon, we mentioned that of Israel as a nation. But there are two more personifications of the exiled people. One of them is seen under the figure of Zion as a bride, the other under that of the servant of Jehovah. Zion stands for Israel as deserted and humbled, but at the same time about to receive the richest and fullest blessings. The servant represents Israel, or a part of Israel, or the ideal Israel, as Jehovah's instrument in restoring unity, prosperity, and holiness to the nation, and in carrying the knowledge of Him to all other nations. The servant is Israel active and comforting, while Zion is Israel passive, comforted, and served by her own children and by the kings of outside nations.

Zion, then, is the idealized city, the wife of Jehovah, and the mother of her inhabitants, but in utter dejection she com-

plains of her desolation and oblivion (49:14). With this figure as a basis, our prophet goes on to say that she is less likely to be forgotten by Jehovah than a nursing infant by its mother (49:15). Jehovah keeps pictures of her walls imprinted upon the palms of his hands (49:16). Her persecutors are hurrying away from her, and her exiled children are hurrying to her (49:17). She looks up and sees them all gathering together and coming (49:18). In place of the weeds of her widowhood, she, as it were, clothes herself with her children as with bridal attire and girds herself with them as with a bridal girdle (49:18). So numerous are they that her land is too small for them and more territory must be had. She has been a bereaved and barren wanderer, and wonders what unknown concubines can have borne her all this multitude (49:19-21). Still larger and richer the image grows till the prophet sees the nations, at Jehovah's signal, bringing her sons in their bosom and her daughters upon their shoulders (49:22), and as a climax, the very kings of the earth become her nursing fathers and the queens her nursing mothers, all of them bowing in abject submission at her feet (49:22, 23).

Another form of this personification, and of a rougher cast, views the people as an intoxicated woman drunk with the wrath of Jehovah, the cup of which she has drained to the dregs (51:17). There is none of her sons to take her home, for they, too, lie in the same condition at the head of all the streets (51:18, 20). But the cup is to be taken from her hand and put to the lips of her oppressors (51:22, 23). She is summoned to awake, shake herself from the dust, put on her beautiful robes, and seat herself on her throne (52:1, 2), for the daughter of Babylon is now off *her* throne and down in the dust (47:1).

Still a third aspect of this personification makes the woman burst into a song of exultation. Her previous astonished inquiry as to where so many children could have come from, gives place to the definite statement that her children, while she has been barren and desolate, are greater in number than

she previously had as the married wife of Jehovah (54:1). In place of the general requirement for more land, a larger dwelling tent is required (54:2). In place of the reference to a mother's attachment for her infant as less than Jehovah's attachment for his people (49:15), we have a more extended portrayal. The shame the young wife felt when abandoned and the reproach of her "widowhood" are to be done away and forgotten (54:4). She has a husband with a definite name, Jehovah her Maker (54:5). He forsook her in an outburst of anger, but it was only for a little while, and that transient wrath was as nothing to the everlasting loving-kindness with which he now endows her (54:7, 8). This final mercy will endure though the mountains pass away (54:10). Her city shall be built with great jewels set in mortar of antimony, which will add to the largeness of their luster, as it does to that of a woman's beautiful eyes (54:11, 12), and great shall be the peace of her children there (54:13).

(d) In addition to the personifications of Israel as a whole, of Babylon, and of Zion, there remains that of Israel as the Servant of Jehovah. This is the most important of all, not only because of its total bulk in our prophecy, but because in sustained power and vividness it exceeds the others; even the figures of Zion and Babylon rank for the most part beneath it, both in variety of detail and in symmetry of arrangement. The figure, however, does not always connote the same part or the same mission of the people. In its first appearance it seems to stand for the nation as a whole. The prophet's imaginative standpoint is in Palestine, and, so located, Mesopotamia, his actual present position, appears as the ends of the earth from which Abraham was called (41:8, 9). Here the servant has a right hand (41:13) and is upheld by Jehovah's right hand (41:10). This is the first appearance of the personification. Later on it increases greatly in boldness. The servant is repeatedly traced to his ante-natal state in the womb (44:2, 24; 46:3; cf. 48:8). Again, in 42:18, 20, where Meshullam (the devoted one) seems to be a proper name (cf. Neh. 3:4, 6, 30), he is the whole nation, deaf and blind to its true calling.

In direct contrast to this sharp figurative arraignment, is the ideal portrait in which the servant is Jehovah's delight and possesses His spirit (42:1). His temper is not hysterical, noisy, or demagogic (42:2). If there be in any nation any in whom virtue is expiring but not dead, he will not quench but, rather, cherish the dying flame, or if there be any in whom tyranny has not quite crushed out right doing, he will give them all gentle encouragement (42:3). Jehovah holds his hand and he restores sight to the blind and releases prisoners from their dungeons (42:7). But here the servant has ceased to be an image of the whole people, or at least of the actual people, and stands, rather, for that part of them which is to be a covenant for the rest, as well as an illumination of outside nations (42:6).

Further figurative elements are used to indicate the special nature of the servant's work. Israel's great genius was for prophetic utterance, and this fact gives form to a special reference to the servant's mouth, which is likened to a sharp sword and a polished shaft (49:2). To this prophetic work he is conscious of having been called before his birth (49:1,5). But the present low estate of his nation makes him feel the futility of his prophetic toil (49:4) and his discouragement draws from Jehovah an assurance of the greatness of his mission (49:5-9a) which has been concealed from the world and the nation (49:2) only in waiting for the fullness of time (49:8). Now at last Israel shall go forth from Babylon (49:9a).

But if the servant is to raise up the land and bring back the heirs to the desolate heritages (49:8), and is to rouse unwilling Israel to go forth from her captivity and obscurity (49:9); if he is to sustain the weary (50:4) and comfort the perplexed exiles on their returning journey (50:10), it is because of a special training; it is because he has been daily wakeful to the lessons of experience,—his own and that of his own people, and to the tuition of common life (50:4). He has also had the discipline of suffering. He has learned not to rebel against Jehovah's commission, but to speak the

divine message, though his back be smitten, his beard be torn, and his face he spit upon. He has acquired an adamantine faith that Jehovah will soon triumphantly acquit him before the bar of events. Therefore, he can set his face like a flint (50:5-9) to the continuance of his work.

We come finally to the great poetic portraiture of the suffering servant (52:13-53:12). This highly wrought and intense personification of Israel, or of the better part of Israel, howsoever small that part may be, is by general consent divided into five strophes. The first strophe presents a disfigured face and body, shunned at first by all, but ultimately startling the nations of the world and their rulers, and commanding a silent astonishment of submission parallel to the previous astonishment at his suffering (52:13-15). The second strophe (53:1-3) shows his mission discredited and his person avoided, perhaps as a leper; for leprosy is suggested by several particulars described in the first three strophes, such as his marred and disfigured person (52:14), his isolation from society (53:3), and the general conviction of his fellow-men that he was suffering under a direct visitation from Jehovah (53:4). The portraiture seems strongly parallel with that of Job suffering from elephantiasis. The third strophe depicts his sufferings as vicarious and redemptive (53:4-6). The fourth strophe emphasizes his temper of silent, lamb-like submission and subjection to death and shameful interment, though guiltless (53:7-9). The fifth strophe shows Jehovah's victorious purpose in all the career of the servant, whom he raises from the dead and, because of his faithfulness in suffering even unto death, rewards with the greatest material, moral and spiritual power and influence (53:10-12). The three middle strophes of the poem are retrospective. The writer surveys the tragic career of the servant as a whole. It is all over, and the wrong estimate the people formed of it while it was in progress is a thing of the past. But his triumph and elevation are always spoken of as belonging to the future (52:13-15). This is because the exile history of the nation whom the servant represents was, up to the time of our prophet's writing, a history of degradation, suffering, and

shame, at least so far as national ideals and attainments were concerned. But now the deliverance through Cyrus is at hand and in harmony with the large outlines of his other imagery the prophet can draw the picture of the servant's future on the magnificent scale of the first and fifth strophes. The kings and nations submissive and astonished before him and his division of the spoil with the great ones of the earth, together with his righteous vindication of the many, are quite in harmony with the colossal glorifications of Zion the bride, with the colossal downfall of the daughter of Babylon, and with the largeness of our prophet's imagery in general.

It is not within the province of this paper to argue for or against the position that in the great passage just reviewed the servant stands for an individual rather than a people. But it does lie within our limits, and it is not inconsistent with our previous expressions, to say that from the viewpoint of our prophet's imagination the servant may sometimes have been seen by him as an individual person. Ideal characters are rare, and the higher their perfection the rarer they are. A poet rarely has more than one blameless Arthur in any of his Idylls, and moral and spiritual eliminations, acting through the imagination of the Deutero-Isaiah, may have led him to reduce the number for whom the servant stood until at last it was one individual. The deaf and blind servant who sees without observing and with open ears hears nothing (42:19, 20) is, of course, the whole people. It is equally clear that in 42:6 the servant is distinguished from the people of Israel in general, to whom he is to be a covenant and whom he is to bring out from the prison of exile. Here the servant may be the better part of the people. Who composed that better part it is hard to say. The gifts of eloquence and effective action attributed to the servant might identify him with the prophetic order, but according to 40:9 Zion as a whole is the evangelistess; nor can the servant be the Deutero-Isaiah himself, for he would not call himself Israel (49:3). The servant is here a personification of some group of indefinite size, yet I see no objection to supposing that the prophet in his despair over the deafness and blindness of Israel as a

whole, not only made a mental distinction between Israel after the flesh and the Israel of God, but may even have seen the figure of the servant representing a still further reduced group, and in some of his visions he may even have seen the servant-party reduced to one man. The personification would thus be identical with that person. In such an hour of highest and deepest vision the prophet might say of himself and all Israel, except the solitary figure upon whom the eye of his mind was fixed, "All *we*, like sheep, have gone astray, we have turned away every one to his own way, and the Lord has laid on him the iniquity of us all." In this way the extraordinary boldness of the language in 53:8, which speaks of his *generation* and says he was cut off from the land of the living, would be accounted for. For this reason, also, it may be that no single expression in the whole passage (52:13-53:12) betrays any sense of a body of men or of an ideal people. When the number of people personified was reduced to but one person, the person and the personification would coincide. All this, of course, is not conclusive, but to reach an individuality for the servant along this line of poetic and fluid reduction of the group for which he stands, is to arrive there by a very different road from that uncritical one which starts with the verbal expressions themselves and seeks to show that they can be predicated of a single person only. For it is of the essence of personification to use just such expressions, and failure to betray any sense of reference to a body or group of people may simply indicate the boldness and power of the prophet's imagination and thus be a tribute to his transcendent genius. On the other hand, no man who grasps the poetic possibility of seeing the servant as representative of a group, now small and now large, according to its characteristics and the poet's mood, can dogmatically declare that a great seer who delivers his ideas in dramatic groups, tableaux, and dialogues, interrupted by choruses, cannot in any one case, where the language itself does not prevent the supposition, have seen the personification as standing for a single person (cf. Delitzsch's figure of a pyramid, which is especially apt in representing the varying scope of the term "servant").

4. In passing from our prophet's personification of peoples and groups to his figure of Jehovah, we discover, as intimated above, an antithetical imaginative procedure. The unlimited creative and administrative might of the deity seeks characteristic exhibition in our prophet's mind under the image of a human being of gigantic dimensions. The greatness of the imagery is now in the main the greatness of bigness. It is characteristic of the religion of Israel that the face of Jehovah is not described (cf. Gen. 32:30; Judges 6:22, 23; 13:22, and esp. Ex. 33:17-23). The breath of Jehovah does indeed blow upon the generations of his people and wither them as the hot wind withers the grass (40:7), and with a fiercer blast it blows upon the rulers of the nations, withering them and whirling them away as stubble before a hurricane (40:24); but the breath of Jehovah is so invisible and spiritual an emanation as barely to suggest the mouth from which it comes. Only the less noble parts of the body, notably the hand and arm, are actually described. Before passing to these, we may note the huge though vague image, perhaps derived from Babylonian cosmology, of Jehovah as the first god to emerge from the primeval chaos (43:10); that of a great person seated somewhere in the zenith above the horizon circle of earth, to whom its inhabitants are as grasshoppers, not because the distance makes them seem small to Him, but because His size is so great compared with theirs (40:22; cf. Num. 13:33); and that of a god whose imagined size is so great that the entire acreage of the Lebanon forests and the animals in them would form a sacrifice disproportionately small in bulk (40:16). That the size, not the character, of the deity is in the prophet's mind, is evident from vss. 12 and 15.

The hand is the symbol of efficient, active power. Cleaving to that which will falsify one's hopes is having a lie in his right hand (44:20). The clay denies the potter power, by saying of him: "He hath no hands" (45:9). Now, the hand of Jehovah, between its thumb and little finger, stretches from horizon to horizon (40:12). If held level, the greatest seas and rivers can be measured in the depression of its palm. And as for the dry land or soil of the earth, this hand carries a

scoop or measure that will contain it all. Thus, it is great enough to assign the proper diameter to the earth-disc, as well as give proper proportions to land and sea. As for the protuberant mountains, this hand holds the beam of a scale into which the other puts and weighs them (*ibid*). It is this hand in reality which stretches out the heavens as a curtain or a tent (40:22; 44:24). And we may mention in passing that as land and sea were carefully measured, so the stars are accurately counted, carefully named, and without the neglect of a single one brought out into their proper positions (40:26). This hand reaches to the ends of the earth, moreover, to take hold of the distant servant (41:9; cf. 42:6), and upholds him in his successful career (41:10), and gives him an encouraging grasp in his times of apprehension (41:13). It is set down, as it were, vertically in the desert of his life, to make a shadow for him from the smiting heat and allow him to thrive and flourish despite his enemies (51:16). Perhaps there is also a thought of preparatory secrecy in his early career; for the hand hides him (49:2). But when the critical hour has sounded, this colossal hand is openly lifted up with a great summoning gesture, as a far-seen signal to the nations to bring the scattered exiles home (49:22). Singularly beautiful also is another use which our prophet makes of the figure of Jehovah's hand (49:16), by connecting it with the religious custom of tattooing sacred marks on one's person and even of writing the name of his god upon his hand (44:5). It was, indeed, a forbidden practice (Lev. 19:28; cf., however, Ezek. 9:4). But our prophet in his distant exile has long ago emancipated himself from many small restrictions, and now upon those great hands of Jehovah he sees not only the name of Jerusalem but a picture of the whole city, including even its walls; perhaps it is a picture of the ruined city making its mute appeal for restoration and repopulation, or perhaps a representation of the new buildings and the new fortifications of the glorious mother-city that is to be. It would no doubt be fanciful to say that the ruins were engraved on one hand and the restoration on the other, though the plural (palms) may be noted; but it is quite cer-

tain that the hands were large enough to contain two pictures larger than any canvas known to man, and not half out of sight on the backs of the hands, but upon the palms, which are "continually before" the eyes.

The *arms* of Jehovah are the emblems of his active exertion of power. They judge the nations and on them the isles trustfully lean (51:5), but this quiet reference is succeeded a few verses later by a magnificent apostrophe. The arm is summoned to awake, as if it were a sleeping being. This is the arm that smote asunder the elements of primeval chaos and separated sea from land. This is the arm that was stretched out over the Red Sea and made a path through it for the ransomed (51:9, 10). And, because of the power of this arm, the ransomed of Jehovah are to return with singing unto Zion (51:11). The whole returning journey of the exiles to Jerusalem is Jehovah's throwing back of His sleeveless upper garment from the right shoulder and making bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations (52:10). Not always, however, does He thus exhibit its omnipotent movements. The motions of its operation in history have often been muffled in heavy folds, and the nature of its working has remained undisclosed and unrevealed, at least to those without eyes to see it (53:1).

There are three great anthropomorphic characters assigned to Jehovah by our prophet which call for separate mention. These exhibit him as a military hero, a shepherd, and a husband. As a great leader in battle, he stirs up zeal, shouts aloud, and does mightily (42:13). This activity of his, possibly by a change of figure, but more probably as a figure within a figure, is also compared to the sudden outcry after long silence of a woman in labor (42:14). The image of the warrior, however, is resumed in vs. 25, except that by one of those sudden reversals of which our prophet is capable, the strength of the hero's battle is now poured out upon Jacob himself like a rushing flame and sets him on fire. Jehovah is also the good shepherd. An ideal picture of His homeward conduct of the exiles shows Him giving them pasture, carrying the lambs, and keeping a slow pace for the sheep that have their young with them; for the marching speed of the re-

turning captives is to be fixed by the youngest and weakest (40:11). In all the ways in which they go, and even on all bare heights, pasture shall be provided. Jehovah's mercy will keep them from hunger, thirst, and smiting heat, and their steps will be directed where the springs of water are (49:9b, 10). A third part assigned to Jehovah is that of a husband. This figure was more natural in ancient times than now, because the wife was not on equality with her husband, but was her lawgiver and almost her owner, and had full authority over the beginning and over the continuance of the bond between them. The usual coarseness of the figure of the deity as the husband of the nation and source of all its fruitfulness as it was used by pagan nations, did not make our prophet abandon it. On the contrary, he purified and used it. The sons and daughters (43:6), as individual Israelites, are viewed as the children of a great marriage between Jehovah and the nation, and with a father's authority He demands that these children created and named by Him be returned from the north and the south and the ends of the earth (43:6, 7). This divine husband, to show that His abandonment was only temporary, appeals to the children to produce the written divorce which would indicate an absolute and final putting away. Such a document, He implies, does not exist (50:1), whatever reason there might have been for writing it (cf. Jer. 3:3). Therefore she can and will be taken back. Nor has He sold his people as a bankrupt father sells his children, for He has been reduced to no such straits and no such creditor can be produced (50:1). The creator-husband is now to restore the broken bond and all Zion's multitude of children are to be returned; for the extended and beautiful personification of Zion the bride to which we have already referred has everywhere for its basis and *motif* the unfailing power and everlasting love of her husband Jehovah (54:4-10).

5. The outline of treatment already proposed (p. 20) calls at this point for a consideration of the *elaborative* largeness of our prophet's imagery. The italicized word is not wholly appropriate, for it carries an undeserved suggestion of redundancy or of studied and deliberate accretion of details. It

would be better, were it not for the fact that we do have details in mind, to speak of the largeness of completeness or fullness of view. The characteristic intended is not, however, at all indefinite. To speak psychologically, the Deutero-Isaiah dwells intensely upon his images. His general intensity often betrays itself in verbal repetitions. These are sometimes in immediate juxtaposition. Examples are: "Comfort ye, comfort ye" (40:1); "I, even I" (43:11, 25; 48:15; 51:12); "for mine own sake, for mine own sake" (48:11); "awake, awake" (51:9, 17; 52:1); "depart ye, depart ye" (52:11). Even in these passages the felt intensity makes the difference between earnest reiteration and vain repetition. The repetition or even aggregation of participle or relative clauses in connection with Jehovah (40:22f, 28f; 42:5; 43:16f; 45:7, 18); with Israel (41:8f, 17); with Cyrus (46:10f); or with the servant (42:2), is not tedious but effective and, sometimes, as in the last instance, impressive and beautiful.

Our present concern, however, is with the prophet's imagery. Here the mental dwelling upon an image, the unwillingness to let it go out of the field of view, takes effect in extended or compound figures made up of numerous features or items. Hence the great personifications often reach, as we have seen, through many consecutive verses. Nevertheless, our prophet's wonderful capacity for largeness and totality of view enables him with absolute ease to fuse all the details of any one image in a living whole. This is his special greatness. He sees the totality while he is looking at the details, and the details while he is viewing the totality. A contrast will make his special genius evident. Ezekiel, in 34:11-31, includes many items of shepherd life, such as mountains, watercourses, inhabited places, pastures, forests, broken-limbed sheep, the fat, the lean, those that butt, and those that foul the water. Yet in literature and in devotion the passage is seldom quoted or even remembered, while our prophet's image of the Good Shepherd (40:11), with only four items, cannot be forgotten, and the similar figure (49:9b, 10), with only five or six details, gets itself repeated centuries later in the apocalypse (Rev. 7:16, 17).

This largeness in the sense of completeness or fullness of detail, then, is self-evident in the personifications. One sees it as soon as he reads them. But the case is somewhat different in certain other instances. Our prophecy opens with a double cry of command, "Comfort ye, comfort ye." Once having the figure of a herald making proclamation before him (40:2), our prophet cannot let it vanish. His next thought no longer concerns forgiving grace, but providential guidance. Still, he brings it under the same figure of one crying (vss. 3ff) and so again with the voice of trust in God's word. By this time the air has become full of voices proclaiming, questioning, and replying (vss. 6-8). The still different turn of thought that now follows retains the same repeated image of one that tells good tidings (vss. 9-11). Thus the whole passage to vs. 11 is really one sustained, compound metaphor or image of an announcing voice. Its unity is not in one herald or in one message, for each of these are more than one. It is in the mere sounding on and on of proclaiming voices, but it illustrates admirably our prophet's unwillingness to lose sight of an image when once he has vividly seen it. And the total effect of the passage is an impressive sense of a large area all about us filled with voices sounding forth their consolation and good cheer.

Another instance of this completeness of view is found in 44:12-20. Critics like Marti omit the "axe" from vs. 12 as a marginal gloss, or would substitute a different translation. I would be glad to have it retained. The word is there; it must mean "axe" in its only other occurrence (Jer. 10:3), and the retention enhances the completeness, remarkable as it already is, of the prophet's survey of idol making. First, an axe must be forged by hard work (vs. 12). Then, while the carpenter is making the design (vs. 13), the idol maker goes out with the axe and fells a selected tree, which itself had to be planted long ago (vs. 14). Thus, the image would go back to the beginning of the tree and to the origin of the implement for cutting it down. The tree being secured, part of it is used for heating, part for cooking, and part for a god (vs. 15-17). Again, the enumeration of the uses of the wood

is remarkably complete. Finally, I would see in the feeding on ashes (vs. 20) a direct, though, of course, figurative, reference to what is left after the wood of the tree is burned. The text of the passage may be more or less corrupt; but, knowing the almost invariable practice of our prophet to think back to the beginning of things and to carry them forward to their final result, I believe we should look in these verses for one image wrought out in a succession of details, beginning with the planting of the tree and its growth, going on to the making of the axe, the cutting down of the tree, the designing, fashioning and carving of the idol portion, the use of the remainder to produce warmth and to cook food, and finally the inevitable residuum of ashes. In any case, we must at once concede that there is no other exposure of idolatry so withering as this of our prophet, because no other gives so simple and at the same time so full a history of what happens to the material out of which the idol is made. It far surpasses in destructive effect any abstract statement of the folly of thinking that the great creative spirit of the universe can be likened to anything graven by art and man's device. Duhm and Cheyne, it may here be noted, would insert 41:6, 7, after 40:19. If this were done, we should have another elaboratively complete account of idol making: First, a metal idol, cast into shape, plated with gold hammered smoothly on (41:7), hung with silver chains (40:19), and fastened securely to its pedestal, so that it cannot totter (41:7); then, secondly, we should have the description of a wooden idol, skillfully carved, and also securely fastened to its pedestal (40:20). But even with this textual rearrangement, the fullness, though characteristic, is far less telling than that of the portraiture (ch. 44) just mentioned.

Another and a more spiritual elaboration connected with idol worship is found in 46:1-7. The prophet sees Bel and Nebo, which had formerly been carried in religious processions and sacred barques through the streets of Babylon and held aloft and worshipped, now prone and prostrate and carried lengthwise upon their captor's beasts of burden as so much dead weight,—mere *avoids* gods (vs. 1). But as the

image of bearing or carrying in procession is purposely retained by the prophet as he passes from the religious worship to the removal of the images as booty, so he still keeps his hold upon it, or, rather, it seems to keep its hold upon him, and gives rise to the splendid conception of Israel's God, not as a thing carried by them, but as one by whom they have been carried from before their birth as a people, and by whom they are to be carried to the end of their history and to be delivered (vss. 3, 4). With still further enrichment of detail, and lest the contrast should not be deeply enough impressed, an idol is again manufactured before our eyes, *carried* upon men's shoulders, and set in its place, there to stand in metallic impotence, unsaving and unsaved (vss. 5-7). No doubt the whole passage may well be cited as showing a profound insight into the nature of true religion, which does not fashion its gods and carry them, but, rather, makes men be reverently moulded and omnipotently carried by their deity from their earliest childhood to their grayest old age. But our present study makes us specially note that all this profound teaching is expressed by means of a single extended metaphor of carrying and being carried, and that such an extension is highly characteristic of our prophet.

The recurrence just mentioned, of the image of carrying (46:7), after it had been apparently abandoned, suggests the mention, in closing this point, of another feature of our prophet's extended metaphors, which is that echoes of them are often heard after we actually think that we have finished with them. Cyrus is to ungird the loins of kings (45:1), but the image reappears unexpectedly in the figure of Jehovah girding him (vs. 5). The extended and beautiful figure of Zion the bride (49:14-23) seems to disappear in vss. 24 and 25 before the figure of a mighty captor, but just at the end of the latter verse, a single clause, "I will save thy children," makes us see that the prophet has not really forgotten it. Again, in chapter 54, the figure of the reinstated wife seems to finish its details in vs. 8, and in vs. 11 we are fairly at work rebuilding the city; but suddenly the jewel-stones are said to be set in antimony as a kind of costly mortar used to set

off the brilliancy of the precious stones as oriental women use it to darken the edge of their eyelids and thus enhance the lustre of their eyes (54:11). The figure of the bride has not been forgotten after all and even as late as vs. 13 the children are mentioned again. It would almost seem to be a wise mental attitude in reading our prophet to be on the lookout for suggestive echoes of any great image which he has just been using even after its completeness seems to have been rounded out.

6. We come, lastly, to the largeness of dramatic action shown in our prophecy. This is the fine and final fruit of our prophet's great and powerful intellectual grasp. To cover so wide a territory of earth and history was much. To have an eye for their great features as well as their details was also much. But the dramatic quality in our prophecy shows that all this was not laboriously done. The many elements of largeness already inventoried were not a burden to the prophet. The greatness of the stage scenery does not bewilder him. He does not lose his way among the entrances and exits. He is perfectly and easily master of both stage and actors. Rightly to realize his dramatic power we may consider the stage setting, the actors and the actions.

But first let us say that these chapters are not, of course, a drama. There is, indeed, a general forward movement. The beginning of chapter 49, in fact, marks a distinct advance. References to Jehovah's lawsuit with the idols and allusions to Cyrus cease. From now on, the prophet concentrates his energies upon the glorious future of Israel. But there is no systematic division into acts and scenes. The *dramatis personae* are *told* to act and *told* to speak, or are represented not as speaking, but as having spoken, and what they had said is recorded (49:14). There is, indeed, very little pure dialogue. In chapter 40, verse 8 is doubtless a direct reply to vs. 7. One voice cries that the "grass withereth," and another answers, "Yes, but the word of God stands forever." In 51:9 "awake, awake," should probably be put into the mouths of those whom Jehovah has just been encouraging in 51:1-8. It might, indeed, be a considerable gain to have

an edition of our prophet printed in dramatic form and indicating at the proper places in such passages as these the change of speaker. Executed by a competent hand not a few passages which are now read merely as outbursts of the prophet's own soul would be seen to proceed, as in the cases just mentioned, directly from the mouths of his *dramatis personae*. But no such edition could make it into a real drama, for such passages are relatively very few.

On the other hand, the positive dramatic quality of the prophecy is everywhere evident. Everything and everybody is made to speak or shout or sing what they have to say. There is very little narrative telling in indirect quotation what they said. A striking instance is found in 44:24-45:7, where in order to maintain the image of Jehovah speaking directly "that saith" or "thus saith" is repeated five times, though the indirect form of quoting would have been easier. Again, the actions of the *dramatis personae* are not related in narrative form so much as graphically pictured in the actual doing.

(a) Our prophet's stage-setting or scene of action is the entire world. It suggests Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, where kingdoms are concerned and the fate of the world is constantly represented as at stake. One is especially reminded of Act II, scene 7, where Menas tells Pompey that the three world-sharers are in his galley and repeatedly asks him the question, "Wilt thou be lord of the whole world?" The differences are great enough; for our prophet's important persons are personifications and the moving passion is not love, but religion. Still it is a world-stage in both cases. Reaching to the east and west and north and south (43:5, 6), it includes the ends of the earth (41:5, 9; 43:6; 45:22; 52:10) and all its nations (40:17). The setting of the scenery includes the stretching forth of the heavens and spreading abroad the earth (44:24 *et al.*), and indeed the resetting for a new state of things with a new heaven and new earth (51:16). The single scenes, too, on this world-stage are great enough. There is the oft-mentioned highway from Babylon to Jerusalem, the return along which is the staple of our prophecy. There are the isles of the sea and indeed the most

distant nations of the world to which the summons goes out for attendance at Jehovah's great trial-at-law with the idols (41:1; 43:8f). And there is the area over which Cyrus is seen moving in passages already cited. Over how vast a space is the chorus distributed that sings from the sea and the isles, from Kedar and Sela. And finally from how great a distance Jehovah secures Egypt, Ethiopia, and Seba to give to Cyrus or Cambyses as a ransom for Israel (43:3). How far the peoples of these places travel to come in chains and in confession to Jehovah and Jerusalem (45:14, 15).

(b) Nor are the actors too small for their stage, for they are the national personifications upon which we have already dwelt, Jerusalem, Zion, Israel, the daughter of Babylon,—there is no need of reference to them. To see the stage is to see them also; but we may add the dense throng of Zion's watchmen packed so closely together that they see into each other's eyes (52:8), the numerous nations that the suffering servant shall startle, the kings that are dumb with amazement before him (52:15), and the throng that makes its great new exodus from Babylon (52:11, 12) and arrives at Jerusalem (52:9, 10). Nor should we omit the great evangelist, whether we think of the conception as an individual, (Mebasser) (41:27; 52:7) or as an ideal band of messengers, (Mebassereth) (40:9), for in either case the image is of noble proportions. Thus always the actors are great, even the seeming exception proving the rule. For the carpenter who encourages the goldsmith and the man with the hammer (41:7) are not so much individuals as representatives. The "every one" who helps his "neighbor" and the "neighbor" whom he helps (41:6) is a nation, he is an "isle" or an "end of the earth" (41:5) and even if we transpose the text, inserting vss. 6 and 7 after 50:19, the reference would be to the two great classes of workmen and the two classes include all the idolaters of the world, thus making the characters ecumenical rather than individual.

And when the chorus breaks out into singing, the singers are neither few nor diminutive. For it is scarcely a solo when Zion, no longer barren, breaks forth into melody (54:1).

The voices may, indeed, be as many as when the ransomed of Jehovah return with singing unto Him (51:11), though the new choral unto Jehovah, being universal over land and sea, wilderness and city, mountain and vale, must have a still greater fullness (42:10-12). Yet to the universalism of human song must sometimes be added the vocal outbursts of the mountains and hills (55:12), and even of the waste places of Jerusalem (52:19); and sometimes even the heavens themselves join in the song of Jehovah's comfort for His peoples and compassion upon His afflicted (49:13).

(c) As with the stage and the actors, so with the actions. The trembling of the isles (41:5), the threshing of the mountains (41:15), the opening of rivers on bare heights and fountains in the valleys, the planting of trees in the wilderness (41:18, 19), are great operations in nature. The discharge of a nation at the close of its time of military service (40:2) and its movement from the great world city along seven hundred miles of roadway to the great sacred city means a long migration. The movements of Cyrus are far-reaching. The first call of the servant is from the ends of the earth (41:9). Great is the transaction of paying over the nations as a ransom for Israel (43:3, 4). The journey they made to come from Africa to Jerusalem was a long itinerary (45:14). It is a far cry from the four points of the compass to the glorified center of the stage (43:5, 6; 49:12). From untold distances the nations draw near to the great trial-at-law (41:1).

Viewed as a dramatic composition, then, the proportions of the stage, of the actors, and of the scenic changes and acting are so large as not to be easily exceeded. And the audience when there is any is upon the stage and includes "all flesh" (40:5).

CHAPTER III.

EFFECTS OF THE largeness.

III. Three results of the largeness of our prophet's field of vision and of the largeness of its constituent images may now be noticed: first, the absence of local coloring; secondly, a peculiar vagueness and spirituality; thirdly, consciousness of a great, or rather of a universal mission.

1. The absence of local coloring has been urged against the exilic authorship of our chapters. They cannot have been written in Babylon or Mesopotamia, it is said, because the vast and varied displays of vegetation of every hue, the interlacing canals, the flat table-land, the violent floods of the Tigris and Euphrates, the sudden whirlwinds, the great sculptured gateways and towers, in a word, the multitude of details recited by the ancient Herodotus and the modern Rawlinson, Ainsworth, or Layard are so conspicuous by their absence. It would be more true, though not wholly true as we shall see, to say that our prophecy might have been written anywhere. A composition really devoid of local color cannot because of that absence be proved not to have been written in Babylon or in any other country or city. So great a critic as Ewald has in fact maintained that while this one was indeed written during the exile, the place of the writing was Egypt. His contention has, doubtless, been effectively refuted, but the possibility of his making it shows how great the lack of local reference really is.

The main reason usually assigned for the fact in question is that the Jew in exile had no eye for the colors of Babylon. His heart was far away. He lived in Judea and in Zion as the Swiss immigrant on our western prairies lives in the Alps.

The Jewish exiles' real life glowed hot and molten far below its Babylonian surface; and when it broke up through and hardened into language, there was nothing of Babylon in the upheaval. There are no fossils in igneous rocks.

But this is only a part of the truth; for intense dwelling upon a foreign or distant object of passion by no means always detaches a poet's observation from even the minute details of his immediate surroundings. The reverse is often the fact. The very intensity of one's feelings about a distant object often makes him keenly alive to surroundings that have nothing to do with that object, but are visually associated with it simply because they are under his physical eye at the same time that the far-off matter is filling the eye of his mind. It is in the hottest part of his passion that the lover in Tennyson's *Maud* notes and examines the little lovely shell with its "delicate spire and whorl" that is lying just at his feet*, and at the crisis time of the life of Jesus and his disciples one of them called his attention to the size of the stones used to build the temple (Mark 13:1).

A similar remark applies to the attempt to account for the lack of local coloring by saying that the Deutero-Isaiah does not, like the old prophets, speak directly to the events and situations of his day, but is expressing in a more lyric form his deep personal conviction and lively hope of the redemption of Israel, and that hence there are no special indications as to the particular classes of people to whom he was speaking and no references to contemporary events. Hence also the difficulty of assigning the separate sections to definite dates. Yet a lyric effusion also might easily be watermarked with many details evidencing its time and place of composition.

Much depends upon the nature of the subject matter and the scale of the imagery used to depict it. If a man's whole thought is upon his individual fortune or misfortune or if his theme is some relatively small local difficulty, local coloring will probably be present. But if he is dealing with a large or universal scheme far above which his imagination is poised,

*Tennyson, *Maud* XXIV.i.

he cannot see the local tints, the local hues and features. To make another use of the old illustration, he can see the outlines of the different forests far beneath him, but he cannot see the shapes of the single trees. The distance is too great and the forests too large. A vision of the cyclic storms of the nebular hypothesis would necessarily lack local coloring. There is no local coloring in the first chapter of Genesis. The vision is too cosmic and its integral objects are too stupendous for that. Now all this suggests the main reason for our prophet's want of local details. He is dealing, as we have seen, with the whole creation. He is brooding over its chaos and its consummation. His field of vision is the entire world. The single objects in it are nations and kingdoms. They are personified, to be sure, but that does not blind us to their colossal character. Our prophet is handling these great objects as a chess player handles his men. The chess-board may be surpassingly broad and elegantly inlaid. The kings and queens may be so large and so exquisitely carved in features and in drapery as to be of absorbing interest under other circumstances and worthy of a volume of description; but he is playing the game of his life. Nay, he sees an invisible hand playing it for him. How should he notice, then, a trick of gilding or a cunning fold in the carven drapery? The board is the world, the pieces are nations, the game is the one last, great crisis of universal history.

If there should be any exception to this lofty scorn of details it would be in the case of that one royal piece which represented the city and kingdom in which the player himself lived. There might be some local coloring on that. And there is. Our prophet does not quite forget to weave into the robe of the daughter of Babylon a procession of images (46:1), an idol manufactory (46:5; cf. 44:12-20; 41:7), some astrologers (47:13), a commercial mart (47:15), and perhaps the "lurid red haze intolerable to the eyes" (49:10). But that would be all. No further details could be expected,—and even these have a certain largeness of their own—from one who was rearranging the few huge integral sections of the universe in the interest and to the glory of one of them.

2. A second result of the largeness of our prophet's images is a peculiar vagueness and spirituality in their quality. The messages of comfort and exultation in chapter 40 are assigned to no definite person. They are only voices. The message seems too great for merely human lips and appears to come from some unseen spiritual being who cannot be known (40:3-6). The promise to the bride that the foundation stones of her city shall be great jewels (54:11) carries too great an image to be taken literally. It must be symbolic, perhaps of great material prosperity, perhaps of spiritual glory, perhaps of both; but the literal meaning being once made impossible, the mind of the reader feels free to rise into spiritual as well as material imagination. The insufficiency of Lebanon and its beasts for a burnt offering (40:16), though it refers primarily, as we have said, to the size of the anthropomorphic figure of Jehovah, nevertheless carries a suggestion of spiritual quality. So great a God must be great in something besides size. The distance between heaven and earth does not in the first instance represent a difference of moral or spiritual quality between Israel's thoughts and Jehovah's (55:9), but a difference in vastness of scale. Nevertheless the very greatness of their elevation does somehow secondarily and strongly suggest, as the average popular interpretation shows, a difference in spiritual and ethical quality.

Yet, on the other hand, this very immensity of our poet's conceptions requires us to be cautious in spiritualizing his language. In ordinary religious writing the contrast between the literal and the figurative is for the most part tantamount to the contrast between the literal and the spiritual. But in interpreting the Deutero-Isaiah, instead of two adjectives, we need three: "literal," "figurative" and "spiritual," for there was in our prophet's mind an ideal and magnificent material and physical future for Israel. And his images are often metaphors for that. Hence no other prophet is in so much danger of being over-spiritualized or of being spiritualized at the wrong time. His allusions to the desert-journey are too continuous a feature of his prophecy (40:10f; 41:18f; 42:16; 43:19f; 48:21; 49:9-11; 55:12f) to allow us to take them as

figurative only. He was looking for a triumphal march of his people, with Jehovah at their head, through the desert between Babylon and Jerusalem, a march as literal as the old Exodus under Moses. Yet the colossal scale of this very imagery will not allow us to take it with *entire* literalness (cf. e. g. 41:18-20). It includes an element of figurative representation of the removal of political barriers and a restoration to political power. Even beyond this, there is still a third element representing spiritual endowments to be given to the people. And in such a passage as 44:3, 4, the spiritual element clearly predominates, "I will pour my spirit upon thy seed and my blessing upon thine offspring." But the three elements are so blended by our prophet that it is for the most part impossible to tell where he means to end the literal and begin the materially symbolic, or where he means to end the materially symbolic and begin the spiritual, or to what extent the three overlap each other.

The large spiritual vagueness of our prophet may perhaps be better understood by comparing him with Ezekiel. The description of the cherubs is precise and almost mathematical. Each one has four faces, four wings, and straight feet (Ezekiel 1:6, 7). His Assyrian tree with its branches and nesting birds is so carefully described that an accurate pencil outline could be made of it (31:1-18). One is tempted likewise to make a sketch on an exact scale of the temple and the healing stream that issues from under the threshold eastward. The measurements are in hand for the varying depth of the water at fixed points and for the length and course of the river (47:1-12). There is absolutely nothing of the kind in the Deutero-Isaiah; no measuring line, no plans or specifications, no geographic distance from any Engedi to any En-eglaim. It is like the difference between Dante and Milton which Macaulay has so forcibly outlined in his essay on the latter.* There is the same definiteness contrasted with remote spiritual suggestion. "Dante gives the shape, the color, the sound, the smell, the taste; he counts the numbers, he measures the

*Macaulay, Es. I, 220-223.

size * * * The ruins of the precipice which led from the sixth to the seventh circle of hell were like those of the rock which fell into the Adige on the south of Trent. * * * The English poet has never thought of taking the measure of Satan. He gives us merely a vague idea of vast bulk." But one should read the whole passage referred to in the footnote.

The sense of spirituality which arises out of this indefinite largeness is especially felt in the description of the suffering servant (52:13-53:12). The servant is named only in 52:13 and 53:11. It is impossible to tell from the language itself who he was or whether he stands for one individual or for many. He comes from no definite place, lives without a name, and has an indefinite burial. Yet the very indefiniteness is so spiritually suggestive and so ideal a character shines through the unlocalized and undated description that the passage has become holy ground and even by critical scholars of the highest attainments has been felt to stand for Jesus of Nazareth and to be a description of the career of the Saviour of the world, as in fact it is.

3. Finally, the largeness of our prophet's imagery results in its frequent use in the New Testament. Of course there are other causes. The forced exilic deprivation of ritual privileges created, as has already been said, a situation having analogies with the free mental emancipation brought by Christianity and the analogy might and does produce some analogous language. The subject-matter of our prophecy, moreover, is a great redemption and restoration. The Christian theme is the same. There was great good news in each and the evangelist and evangelistess of the prophet with their evangel might easily furnish the very title of the gospel.

But Christianity carries an essential note of largeness and universalism that could not find so many ready made expressions of itself anywhere else as in our prophet. It is not necessary at this point to repeat our numerous references to "the ends of the earth," "the whole earth," "all the nations," "all flesh," "setting justice in the earth," the "isles waiting for Jehovah's law." We may recall the mention of all four points of the compass (43:5, 6), the universal call to those who have

escaped the world judgment of the nations executed through Cyrus to look to Jehovah for salvation (45:22), which seems to indicate a purpose of grace toward the whole human race. Especially striking is the express assurance given to the servant that it is too light a commission for him to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; for Jehovah has given him for a light to the Gentiles also and a means of salvation to the end of the earth (49:6). Here, too, should be recalled all that has been said in this paper as to the world-wide stage of the dramatic action in our prophecy and the unlimited tribute paid to restored Zion by processions of nations coming even from the heart of Africa.

To the category of universality our prophet sometimes adds that of eternity as when to the promise of possessing the nations is added the promise of everlasting lovingkindness which shall never depart while the mountains and hills endure (54:3, 8, 10). A similar but more powerful instance is that in which Jehovah's justice is to be a light of the peoples, his arm to judge them, and the isles to wait for him. Nor shall this salvation be any temporary arrangement. Let the people lift up their eyes to heaven and look about upon the earth. The one shall vanish like smoke and the other wear out, but Jehovah's salvation shall be forever, and His righteousness shall not be abolished (51:4, 5, 6). Finally we have the conception (partly anticipated in the verses just quoted where the transitoriness of the present world is asserted), of a new moral and spiritual universe as the ultimate aim of Jehovah's dealing with Israel (51:16). Surely if ever there were to be a universal and eternal salvation established in a renovated earth, the immense imagery of the Deutero-Isaiah is capable of embodying it in worthy expressions.

If now we turn to the New Testament itself we find the citations from our prophet and the unquestioned references to him so numerous that our entire closing division will be given to a systematic study of them. Some salient examples may, however, be mentioned here. John the Baptist, questioned as to his mission, replies in the words of our chapter 40 that he is the voice of one crying in the wilderness (John 1:23; Luke

3:4-6). Jesus also (if we may for a moment go outside our limits and cite words which if not composed by our prophet are an immediate echo of him) finds the opening keynote of his ministry here. In Luke 4:18, in the synagogue at Nazareth he opens the book of our prophet and reads the first verses of chapter 61, "The Spirit of the Lord Jehovah is upon me because He hath anointed me to preach good-tidings to the meek," etc. It is from our prophet (42:1-4) that Matthew 12:18-21 quotes words to describe the character of Jesus, "He shall not strive nor cry," etc. It is in our 53rd chapter that descriptions of the sufferings of Jesus are found (Acts 8:32, 33). "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter," etc., and in the evangelist's narrative he was "numbered with transgressors" (Luke 22:37). Paul's thought of a great assize (Romans 14:11), at which every soul must appear and at which every knee shall bow to Jesus and every tongue confess him draws upon our prophet's great scenes, in his 41st and 45th chapters, of Jehovah going to law with the idols (cf. esp. 45:23). In his speech in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia the apostle tells (Acts 13:32, 34) the good tidings of the promise concerning the "holy and sure mercies of David" promised by our prophet (55:3). It is striking also to note that after his peculiar and fine-drawn use of Hagar and Mount Sinai he finds relief for his great pent-up struggling thought of Christian freedom in a quotation from our prophet, "Rejoice thou barren," etc. (54:1); and finally the thought of the new heaven and new earth which the Gospel is to bring, as described in the Apocalypse, is painted in colors drawn from our chapters.

Now it is the largeness, the ideal and spiritual greatness of these images, that brings them in to describe all these important facts and thoughts of the New Testament religion. Small and local imagery could not have been used with much naturalness. When Delitzsch in his introduction to our prophet says "the sufferings and exaltation of Christ are proclaimed [in chapter 52:13-53:12] as clearly as if the prophet had stood beneath the cross itself and had seen the risen Saviour," his words seem misleading. It is precisely because

the prophecy of the suffering servant is large, ideal, and indefinite in its outlines, that it can be applied to Christ. It is for the same reason that Plato's portrait of the just man may be similarly used. "The portrait drawn by Plato in its minute touches reproduces the likeness [of the Son of Man] with a fidelity so striking, that *the chronological impossibility alone has rescued him from the charge of plagiarism*. 'Though doing no wrong,' Socrates is represented saying 'he will have the greatest reputation for wrong doing,' 'he will go forward immovable even to death, appearing to be unjust through life, but being just,' 'he will be scourged,' 'last of all, after suffering every kind of evil he will be crucified. Not unnaturally Clement of Alexandria, quoting this passage, describes Plato as 'all but foretelling the dispensation of salvation'."* I make the quotation and do the italicizing in order to show how the ancient father and the modern scholar regard the passage from Plato. They are able so to regard it because it is a purely imaginative and ideal picture drawn by the great Athenian in large lines and expressly disclaiming any existing counterpart in Athens or anywhere else. Our prophet's portraiture of the suffering servant differs from Plato's picture of the just man as Hebrew genius differs from Greek. But the large lines of the ideal appear in both. A similar remark applies in a general way to our other New Testament citations. The "voice crying in the wilderness" can describe any great religious and solitary forerunner, though not so aptly any other as John. The picture of one who "does not strive nor cry nor cause his voice to be heard in the street" has been true to the life of others, though to none so true as to Jesus. Even the description of the suffering servant may conceivably have a large measure of application to other martyrs, but to none, of course, so full a measure as to Jesus. Perhaps the point intended is sufficiently clear without further references. It is then the undying pre-eminence of our prophet that his vision of salvation was as large as the world; that it covered the tracts of time and space

*Lightfoot, *The Epistles of St. Paul, Philippians*, P. 291.

completely; that it included the utmost conceivable transformation of the universe—and that it did all this so grandly and vividly that when the Saviour of the world really came and set up His kingdom the prophet's ideal language and the Saviour's work could practically coincide and be related as prophecy and fulfillment.

CHAPTTR IV.

THE NEW TESTAMENT REFERENCES.

Proceeding, then, in accordance with the plan of this paper, to a complete inductive study of the New Testament passages which quote from the Deutero-Isaiah, a mathematical note may be made at the outset. There are about ninety-nine different verses in the New Testament which quote from our prophet. The number of New Testament passages which quote from the entire canonical Old Testament is about nine hundred and ninety-five. Varying literary instinct may alter these figures slightly, but it is clear that almost exactly one-tenth of all the New Testament passages which quote from the Old Testament cite our prophet. In a Letteris bible there are 1,384 pages, of which the Deutero-Isaiah occupies nineteen and a third, or about one-seventieth of the total number. The ratio of one-tenth to one-seventieth shows that in proportion to its bulk our prophet is quoted in the New Testament seven times as often as is the Old Testament as a whole. This fact is surely significant of the close kinship between the Deutero-Isaiah and the New Testament writers. Again: the New Testament gospel has certain distinguishing categories, such as spirituality, eternity, universality loving-sacrifice, and the regeneration of men into a kingdom of God, and all these in connection with the personality of Jesus Christ. Now, in proportion as these qualities are increasingly evolved in the course of the gospel history the quoting of the Deutero-Isaiah increases. This is because of the double fact that his immense conceptions and images are adapted to embody the large and spiritual qualities in question, and that his great personifications are at the same time adapted

for application to an individual Christ. The four evangelists might at first glance seem to be an exception, for the essential qualities of Christianity would naturally be preëminent in the life and words of its founder. Yet Matthew quotes our prophet only three times, Mary only once, Luke six times, and John three. This fewness, however, is owing to the latent or implicit condition of the great characteristics, which afterward became explicit and actively dynamic. For example, Paul's universalism, according to so great a critic as Weizsacker, was, notwithstanding its boldness in enterprise, narrower in reality than the universalism of Jesus. Yet Paul's quotation of our prophet is vastly more frequent than that of the four evangelists. The explanation, of course, is that a ministry historically confined to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, however world-wide its spirit and intent might be, would need expression for that spirit and intent only as they were carried out and manifested in subsequent historical facts. Meanwhile it may be noted that against Matthew's three quotations, Mark's one and John's three, Luke, so often called by distinction the gospel of humanity at large, increases the number to six. Acts, which marks the transition to the Gentile world, raises it to eight, while an epistle like that to the Romans contains eleven. The strong outstanding quotations in Corinthians and Galatians are also from our prophet. The Apocalypse, all compact of imagery as it is in general and containing more than half as many citations from the Old Testament as all the rest of the New Testament taken together, contains no less than thirty-four citations from our prophet. Finally, as showing the pervasive presence of the Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament, it may be remarked that every book of the latter makes at least some citation from the former with the trifling exception of First Thessalonians, the brief pastoral epistles, Philemon, Jude, and the three epistles of John, which last do not quote from the Old Testament at all.

Taking up the quotations in detail, we study those that concern (1) Christ's life and work, (2) the spread of the gospel under the Apostles, (3) the expected great consum-

mation, and (4) the large, historic, and philosophic aspects of the gospel's career.

1. Under Christ's life and work we may consider his person and character, his contact with masses of people in healing and teaching, his sacrifice of himself, and his second coming as judge and redeemer.

(a) The Apostolic sense of wisdom and knowledge which abounded in perfect fulness in Christ is expressed by saying that in Him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (Col. 2:3). But this metaphor is taken from Jehovah's promise to give to Cyrus the treasures of darkness and the hidden riches of secret places. The inner intellectual wealth of Christ is illustrated by the material wealth concealed in the storehouses of the Lydian King (Is. 45:3). The calm and humble spirit in which Jesus worked and his gentleness and compassion towards those in whom worthy activity was not wholly crushed and in whom the sense of God, though expiring, was not extinct, irresistibly send the first evangelist to the portraiture of the Servant so endowed with Jehovah's spirit that he does not strive nor cry nor cause his voice to be heard in the streets, does not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax (Matt. 12:18ff; Is. 42:1-4). In addition to giving expression to these intellectual and active qualities of Jesus our prophet also voices through Peter his moral faultlessness. He did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth (I Pet. 2:22; Is. 53:9). The ascription of eternity and divinity, also, to Jesus, the character of infinite greatness ascribed to him in the Apocalypse, draws expressions from our source. It is striking to note that in the same passage the descriptions of Jesus' external person come from other prophets while the suggestions of deity and infinity are from the Deutero-Isaiah. Ezekiel and Daniel furnish the wool-white hair, the flaming eyes, the feet like burnished brass, and the voice like the sound of many waters. But "first and last" and "alive forevermore" as characteristics of him who was dead and is alive again, come from our prophet (Rev. 1:17; 2:8; 22:13; Is. 44:6; 48:12).

(b) Jesus, it is true, cultivated the individual. For the

most part he healed and instructed men one by one. There were some considerable exceptions, however, and in connection with the instances of his dealing with masses of men our prophet, because of his characteristic largeness, is apt to be in evidence. On one occasion many followed Jesus and he healed them all. Thereupon, Matthew quotes the passage already cited as appropriate to Jesus' gentleness. But after all it is also and perhaps mainly the sense of multitude that secretly draws the evangelist's mind to our prophet, for he does not stop quoting until he has twice included the reference to the great Gentile world (Matt. 12:18ff; Is. 42:1-4). When, too, at Capernaum evening brought freedom from the Sabbath restraints, multitudes gathered about Jesus, bringing many demoniacs and other sick people, all of whom Jesus cured. There was a suggestiveness in this wholesale healing, and hence again the congenial attractiveness of the chapters we are studying. Matthew therefore cites "himself took our infirmities and bare our diseases" (Matt. 8:17; cf Mark 1:21; Is. 53:4). Still, again: The feeding of the five thousand suggested the manna given in the wilderness. In imagery from both these miracles Jesus was striving to instill into the multitude the thought of spiritual feeding. Hence it is profoundly interesting to see his mind turn to the gorgeous and jewelled picture of rebuilt Zion and take out of its splendid vagueness one simple spiritual sentence and quote it in naked isolation. "And they shall all be taught of God." It is as if the splendid externalisms which excited the imagination of the Galilean people could find their only counterpart in the kindred splendors of our prophet's sapphire city, and yet the heart of it all, which they needed to learn, was the submissive spirit of willingness to be taught by Jehovah (John 6:45; Is. 54:13). One more citation may be added here. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews, although he is thinking of an eternal priesthood, yet, because of the very element of eternalness which is in the conception, is drawn to our prophet notwithstanding the latter's lack of priestly references. Jesus having been made perfect through suffering becomes

unto all them that obey him the author of eternal salvation (Heb. 5:9; Is. 45:17).

(c) That the New Testament writers repeatedly use the fifty-third of Isaiah to describe Jesus' vicarious suffering needs no restating here. Perhaps it is not so universally noticed, however, that the citations are nearly always made in large general relations and connections. Even the eunuch returning to Ethiopia, individual though he was, was no private untraveled person (Acts 8:32f; Is. 53:7f). Peter's hortative description of Him who bare our sins is addressed to a general body who were healed by his stripes and were like sheep who had gone astray and returned (I Pet. 2:24f; Is. 53:12, 5f). The largeness of application is more evident when Jesus so emphatically says that our prophet's word, "and he was reckoned with the transgressors," is about to be fulfilled in him (Luke 22:37; Is. 53:12). The evident meaning is: In your previous trips within the narrow limits of Galilee and in the cause of a still obscure teacher over whom no formal public issue had yet been raised, you lacked nothing, although you took neither purse nor wallet. You could depend upon ordinary hospitality. But now I am to be classed with criminals and you are to find yourselves thrown out upon a wider mission and utterly unfriended. Jesus knows that he is just at the end of his restricted career. He sees the great unlimited work beginning for his followers. He turns to the story of the Servant whose sufferings had such world-wide efficacy in the prophet's picture and sees in his situation the prophetic parallel of his own. There is a similar situation outlined in John. The request of the Greeks (John 12:20-32) opens to Jesus a vision of the whole Gentile world to win which he must die, as the grain of wheat dies, into great fruition. His troubled soul sees the near agony of the cross on which being lifted up, He will draw all men unto Himself. Yet who of his contemporaries recognizes that the universal attraction is to come from the pains and death. It is again the universal sweep of the vision that makes the evangelist quote the incredulity of the exiles to express the incredulity of the Jews, "Lord, who hath believed

our report" (Jno. 12:38; Is. 53:1). The point of special import for this paper is the extraordinary universalism of the scene, unequalled elsewhere even in John, and its evident connection with the similar universalism of our prophet.

The final victory of the crucified Christ is strikingly illustrated from our prophet in the Apocalypse. The seer beholds a lamb standing upon Mount Zion with his hundred and forty-four thousand. When we recall that the one agony and aspiration of the Babylonian exiles was to be restored to Mount Zion and note that the Apocalyptic picture sees the suffering servant actually standing there as a lamb, the significance of the scene is apparent. It is as if a verse had been added to the fifty-third of Isaiah describing the suffering servant as enthroned in power at Jerusalem, and as if that verse had been used to describe the triumph of Jesus. That the "lamb" of the seer is the "lamb" of our prophet is evident from the description of his followers. "In their mouth was found no lie, and they are without blemish" (Rev. 14:5; Is. 53:9). Other Apocalyptic references to the lamb led to the slaughter (Is. 53:7) are found in Rev. 5:6, 12. The great future written in the book sealed with seven seals rests with the lamb standing as though it had been slain, to whom the universal chorus of things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth ascribe unending dominion. The lamb is in the midst of the throne (Rev. 7:17) and there is a book of life of the lamb that hath been slain (Rev. 13:8). The writer of the book of Hebrews speaks of the blood of an eternal covenant (Hebrews 13:20; Is. 55:3). Finally, we note that the classic passage on Jesus' self-emptying, obedience unto death, and resultant exaltation, comes to its climax in the wording of Jehovah's oath to the exiles, swearing by himself that to Him every knee shall bow and every tongue shall swear (Philippians 2:10f; Is. 45:23).

(d) But Christ is to come again in a great flaming revelation from heaven to be glorified in all his saints. Yet even this contains an echo from our prophet (II Thess. 1:10; Is. 49:3). Having been offered once to bear the sin of many, He shall appear the second time unto salvation, as the Servant

bears the sin of many and is to divide the spoil with the strong (Heb. 9:28; Is. 53:12). And when He comes His reward will be with Him, to render to each man according to his work. The second coming of the Son of Man to judge and to vindicate is thus seen and expressed in the image of Jehovah coming to the exiles. "Behold, the Lord Jehovah will come * * * Behold, His reward is with Him and His recompense before him" (Rev. 22:7, 12; Is. 40:10). Thus the person and character, the healing and teaching, the sacrifice and exaltation, and the second coming of Jesus are largely depicted in words and phrases belonging to our prophet's story of the Hebrew exiles. It seems extremely strange, until we remember how extremely akin were our prophet's ideals and the Ideal Prophet.

2. Passing on to consider the spread of the gospel under the Apostles, we find our prophet is usually quoted on occasions where Christ's message comes in touch with foreigners, where Paul's universal commission is referred to, where great gatherings of people are dealt with, and on occasions when Gentiles are considered in immediate connection with Jews as recipients of the Gospel.

(a) The eunuch under the queen of Meroë, returning from Jerusalem to Ethiopia by the Gaza road, was studying our prophet. His scripture selection is significant. It was good reading to him because it had been written in a land foreign to Jerusalem, by a prophet who mentions the eunuch's own country, Ethiopia, as furnishing part of the exiles' great ransom (Is. 43:3) and its people as part of the suppliant procession reaching restored Zion (Is. 45:14). The eunuch had come, to be sure, upon the puzzling problem of the person or personification of the suffering servant; but the prophecy as a whole was written in such large lines and suited his own African situation so well that, as we have seen, Ewald was able to locate the very composition of it just north of him, in Egypt.* Another large relation appears in connection with the coincident, though locally separated, visions which Peter

*See page 47.

had of the miscellaneous creatures in the sheet, and Cornelius had of the man in bright apparel. The situation is ecumenically suggestive. One man was at Joppa and the other at Cesarea. Peter sees the Roman world opening and in the house of Cornelius he uses universalistic language adapted from Deuteronomy and elsewhere. "Of a truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him" (Acts 10:34, 35). But when he comes to the heralding of good news of peace to all men, he must resort, for the expression of that unlimited grace, to the words of our prophet (Acts 10:36; Is. 52:7).

(b) The words of the same great seer appear also in the formal commission of Paul, to evangelize the Gentile world. The apostle, in making his defense before Agrippa, describes the scene on the Damascus road in which the Lord declared to him that he would send him to the Gentiles to open their eyes, that they might turn from darkness to light. The psychology of it all need not be considered here; but it was a vision of a great and universal work, and to express so broad a mission recourse was had to the corresponding work of the Servant in opening the blind eyes, bringing them that sat in darkness out of the prison-house, bringing the blind by a way they knew not, and making darkness light before them. The apostle to the Gentiles gets his very commission in the phraseology of the Great Unknown (Acts 26:18; Is. 42:6, 7, 16). Nor had the servant's utterances faded from the apostle's mind when he wrote to the Galatians of having been separated even from his mother's womb to preach among the Gentiles (Gal. 1:15; Is. 49:1). And when he was exhorting the Philippians to a blameless life, that he might be able in the great day of accounting to Christ to say that he had not run in vain or labored in vain, he was not only sharing the confident distrust of the Servant in the midst of his colossal task, but was quoting from his words (Phil. 2:16; Is. 49:4).

(c) The congenial largeness of our prophet is also finely seen in connection with the great gatherings the apostles

addressed. The healing of the lame man at the door Beautiful drew a crowd to the temple, and Peter was stirred by the suddenly great proportions of his work and the kindling presence of the masses to make an extended historic sweep of prophetic foreshadowings. But his opening and closing sentences alike view Jesus under the character of the Servant of Jehovah (Acts 3:13, 26; Is. 52:13). At the Pisidian Antioch, "almost the whole city" was gathered together, and the sight of the "multitudes" filled the Jews with jealousy; but in rising to the occasion the few resolute words spoken by Paul and Barnabas are from our prophet (Acts 13:47; Is. 49:6). Paul's great discourse at Athens, when the crowd made him talk to them from the Areopagus, planted itself at the outset upon our prophet's powerful and repeated conception of Jehovah as the creator of the heavens and the earth, and the giver of breath and spirit to its inhabitants (Acts 17:24; Is. 42:5). At Corinth, at the house of Titus Justus, in the night, the Lord appeared to Paul in a vision, heartening him with good cheer from our prophet and with the assurance that many converts were to be made in the city. We may reasonably think that the night vision received its material from daylight reading or recollection, and the daylight turning to our prophet and his great work would be most natural to the Apostle, as he felt the pressure of a great work in a great city. Writing afterwards to his converts there as a body, and having in mind the iniquity and idolatry (2 Cor. 5:14, 15) of the great isthmian city, with its double harbor and double influx of eastern and western evils, and also mindful of the great moral separation which his church there should make from all the city's sins, the image rises in his mind of the great summons to depart from Babylon and touch none of its unclean things (2 Cor. 6:17; Is. 52:11). And even when immediately thereafter the thought of Christian sonship to God arises, the Apostle's thought so clings to the prophet's imagery that he adds another feature from him to complete the gospel picture of Christians as a company of sons and daughters of God (2 Cor. 6:18; Is. 43:6). When the practical James, moreover, is taking a comprehensive sweep

of Christian society, from the poor all the way across to the rich, he instinctively resorts to the comprehensive picture of the leveling up and leveling down along the great highway from Babylon, and calls upon the brother of low degree to glory in his high estate, and upon him that is rich to rejoice in that he is made low, because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away (James 1:10f; Is. 40:6f). To complete the list of instances of a crowd or company or society which in one way or another remind the apostolic writers of the body of exiles in Babylon, we may add Peter's characterization of Christians as an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession and showing forth His excellencies. This phraseology is but an enhanced echo of the prophet's aggregation of similar phrases to describe a great praising congregation, "My people, my chosen, the people I have formed for myself, that they might set forth my praise" (1 Pet. 2:9; Is. 43:20f).

(d) A separate closing mention may now be made of passages which concern the great blending of Jews and Gentiles in a common salvation. The aged Simeon at last beholds Jehovah's Messiah. His eyes see the salvation prepared before the face of all peoples; a light for revelation to the Gentiles and the glory of His people, Israel. But it is all a mosaic or a fusing together of things found in the Deutero-Isaiah (Luke 2:30f; Is. 40:5; 52:10; 42:6; 49:6; 46:13). At the Pisidian Antioch, on the first Sabbath, Paul's synagogue speech used numerous quotations from the Old Testament, including the Pentateuch, Psalms, Samuel, Isaiah, and Habakkuk. There was no citation from our prophet. It was not yet time. But on the next Sabbath the occasion had become cosmopolitan, as we have already noted. Our prophet was needed. "I have set thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation to the uttermost parts of the earth" (Acts 13:47; Is. 49:6). At the Jerusalem conference on the question of circumcising Gentile converts, Peter, Barnabas, and Paul spoke in turn. Then James, in making his wise closing survey of the situation, ended by seeing, like the Deutero-Isaiah, the fulfillment of a great prediction. Again

the occasion is clearly one of widening vision, larger meanings, and a salvation comprehending the Gentile as well as the Jew (Acts 15:18; Is. 45:2). The vision of Paul at Corinth, lately mentioned as using our prophet, also occurred when Paul had been obliged to leave the Jews and turn to the Gentiles (Acts 18:9f; Is. 43:5). And in vindicating God's peculiar method in the selection of instruments for saving, not from the Jews only, but also from the Gentiles, a spiritual and abiding Israel (Rom. 9:24), Paul finds his conclusive illustration in our chapters: Woe unto the exile that striveth with his Maker because He selects a pagan Cyrus and declares an outside instrument shall restore His people and build His city. Shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, What makest thou? And so, likewise, in the process of forming a newer and later people of God and with a glorious universality in view, hath not the potter a right over the clay from the same lump to make one part a vessel unto honor and another unto dishonor? (Rom. 9:20; Is. 45:9).

3. Notwithstanding its inwardness, the idea of the Kingdom of God in the gospel includes a great consummation of destruction for the bad and of glorified triumph for the good. Now, as Matthew Arnold says of our prophet's utterances, "if ever that good time coming for which we all of us long, was presented with energy and magnificence, it is in these chapters; it is impossible to read them without catching its glow."* It is not surprising, then, that New Testament passages relating to the great near future as the Gospel writers conceived it should embody many words and phrases from our chapters. The introduction to the Apocalypse itself is in point. The seer is to write the things which he beholds, and the things which are, and the things which shall come to pass hereafter. These words quote from the Septuagint version of our prophet. Indeed, the flaming-eyed figure who speaks them calls himself "the first and the last," thus making a double reference to our chapters. It is most natural; for the great prophetic tableaux seen on Patmos can be compared in their immense and revolutionary significance to nothing so well as to the great predictive pictures which

Jehovah showed to the exiles (Rev. 1:19; Is. 48:6; Rev. 1:17; Is. 44:6; 48:12). We may, for convenience of presentation, divide our citations into those which concern the negative side—that is, the destruction or submission of the enemies of the people of God; and those which concern the positive side—that is, the splendid and glorified conditions of the redeemed themselves.

(a) The enemies of the church of Philadelphia are to come and worship before her feet and are to know that Christ has loved her. This is, indeed, a local church, but the seven epistles, with their sevenfold division, have a symbolic character, and there is immediately in view a trial hour about to come upon the whole world and test the inhabitants of the entire earth. Its greatness, at any rate, is made akin to the greatness of the ransom to be paid for the deliverance of the exiles (Rev. 3:9, 10; Is. 45:14; 49:23; 43:4). When the sun-clothed, star-crowned woman's child is saved and the devouring dragon and his angels are cast down to the earth, the heavens are summoned to sing of the victory (Rev. 12:12; Is. 44:23; 49:13). The cosmic chorus, moreover, of Rev. 5:9-13 is but a sublimely elaborated echo of the earlier chorus of earth and sea in Is. 42:10-12. The Apocalyptic chapter, also, which sees the hundred and forty-four thousand on Mount Zion, in company with the Lamb, tells, besides, of the fall of Babylonian Rome and of the wine of the wrath of God which is prepared unmixed in the cup of his anger. The writing is cryptic, and Rome is not mentioned by name, but the key to the prophet's conception of the fall of the city of the emperors is in our prophet's extended metaphor of the "bowl of the cup of staggering" (Rev. 14:8, 10; Is. 51:17, cf. 22). The fierce application which the apocalyptic seer makes of the *lex talionis*, outpoured blood for outpoured blood, cites Jehovah's kindred denunciation (Rev. 16:6; Is. 49:26). A few verses later the sixth angel pours out his bowl upon the great river Euphrates and dries up its water to make way for the kings that come from the sunrising. Whatever may

*Matthew Arnold, *Isaiah XL-LXVI*, p. 32.

be said of a reference to the swarms of orientals at the destruction of Jerusalem, or to the widespread idea that Nero would come again from the east, perhaps accompanied by Parthian kings, the triple reference, first to the Euphrates, second to the drying up of its water, and thirdly to the coming from the sunrising (which last phrase directly quotes the Septuagint), unmistakably points out the real source of the seer's inspiration (Rev. 16:12; Is. 44:27; 41:2, esp. 25). Still again, when the idea of remembering Babylon the great to give to her the cup of wine of the fierceness of God's wrath reappears a little later in the same chapter, the reference is equally clear (Rev. 16:19; Is. 51:17; cf. 22, 23); and when it is said "every island fled away and the mountains were not found," is there not an echo of that frightened mobility which our prophet ascribes to the "isles" when he makes them listen and tremble and draw near (Rev. 16:20, cf. 6:14; Is. 41:1, 5). We may add that the entire eighteenth chapter of the Apocalypse is full of echoes of the Deutero-Isaiah, such as the falling of Babylon (vs. 2), the merchants (vs. 3), the summons to come forth (vs. 4), the cup of wrath (vs. 6), the proud personification and self-glorifying, "I sit as a queen and am no widow" (vs. 7), the burning of Babylon (vs. 10), the merchants again (vss. 11, 15), and the sorcery (vs. 23). Compare Isaiah 51:17; 47:8, 9, 10, 12, 15.

(b) In turning to the positive side of the great consummation, one is tempted to refer again to Jesus' quotation of Isaiah (54:13) when in John 6:45 he refers to the people being taught of God. For while he refers only to the inward and spiritual element in the dazzling vision of Jerusalem, the outward element must have been more or less strongly present when he quoted what is so integral a part of the whole. But passing to Paul's citations, we may note that when he is thinking of the great security of the children of God, the image of the Servant of Jehovah rises in his mind. As Jehovah was on the side of the Servant and would help him and give him speedy justification, so the Christian believer had God and Christ upon his side and might apply to himself the confident interrogations of him who gave his back to the smiters (Rom.

8:33f; Is. 50:8f). When he is thinking of the final merciful ingathering of all, he finds no better words for his expression than our prophet affords: "For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been His counsellor?" (Rom. 11:34f; Is. 40:13f). And once more, even in his practical exhortations to Christian believers not to pass critical judgments upon one another, or to set one another at naught, because all will be equally and impartially dealt with before the judgment seat of God, Paul calls to mind the bar before which Jehovah summons the idolatrous nations, taking oath by himself that unto him every knee shall bow and every tongue shall swear (Rom. 14:11; Is. 45:23; 49:18).

Finally, when we return to the Apocalypse and examine the rich poetic language in which the great future of the followers of the Lamb is depicted, we find our prophet's imagery abundantly used and quoted. It is the blessing of those whose robes have been washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb, that God spreads his tabernacle over them while they are resting, and when they are in blissful movement the Lamb that is in the midst of the throne is their Shepherd and guides them to fountains of water of life, and they hunger no more, neither thirst any more, neither does the sun strike on them nor any heat. The best words to describe the earthly heaven of Christ's redeemed are quotations from the imagery of the new and vernal exodus of the exiles from Babylon (Rev. 7:16f; Is. 49:10). And the song they sing is new, because the song the exiles sang was new (Rev. 14:5; Is. 42:10). At last comes the *Urbs beata Hirusalem* which inspired the monk of Clugny and the seer of Patmos. The seer beheld a new heaven and a new earth, because our prophet sketched them for him (Is. 51:16; cf. 65:17; Rev. 21:1). He saw the Holy City as a bride, because our prophet's personification had clothed her in beautiful garments. He built precious stones into her walls and foundations, because our prophet had cut and polished them and they were ready to be set. And his city was holy, because our prophet had excluded the uncircumcised and the unclean. The seer brought it down from heaven, but he received it from the Deutero-

Isaiah, and the echoes of him, or possibly his own words, in the Trito-Isaiah (Rev. 21:2, 5, 10, 18f, 27; Is. 52:1; 43:19; 54:11f; cf. 60:1, 11, 19, 20, *et al.*)

(c) One might be tempted to think that with all his large and glorious descriptive imagery our prophet was scarcely practical enough to make any contribution to the great and gracious invitations of the gospel era. Yet it is just his expressions that enable the apostolic invitation to clothe itself in the promise of absolute grace, "I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely," and in the universal invitation to partake without money and without price. There is no more popular and beautiful wording of the invitation to Christ than that which derives its form from Jehovah's last call to the busy Jewish merchants of Babylon to withdraw their commercialized hearts from the unsatisfying wealth of the sorceress city and to consecrate themselves to the activities and to receive the blessings of the return and the restoration to Zion (Rev. 21:6; 22:17; Is. 55:1f, 6f).

4. Our closing section considers the connections which certain large philosophic, historic, and theological aspects of the gospel have with the Deutero-Isaiah. Not that our prophet is a philosopher or a philosophic historian or a systematic theologian. Nevertheless, he has his immense historic sweep. Jehovah's omnipotent and omniscient conduct of events, as our prophet sees it, gives him a kind of philosophy of history. And his marvelous insight into the depth of religious realities affords much material for constructing his theology. This paper does not, of course, aim to give any regular outline of the abstract system deducible either from our prophet or from the New Testament documents. It simply indicates some points at which the two systems or sets of systems, if made, would touch each other. These contacts may be arranged under (a) preparation, (b) visions of universality, (c) general historic surveys, (d) great movements and enterprises philosophically considered, (e) character of God and incredulity and criticism of God's ways, (f) the greatness of the individual Christian.

(a) The personality of Christ is so overshadowing that

we commonly think of the forerunner's ministry as the preparation by an individual for an individual. But John did not at the outset preach repentance because the Messianic King, but because the Kingdom of God was at hand. It was a great political revolution, preceded by a great return to real righteousness which the new Elijah had in mind. Viewed as the introduction of a new era, the preparation for the gospel through the ministry of John could have no grander or more fitting description than the opening words of our prophecy. Let one read through the Deutero-Isaiah and lose himself in the vast yet concrete visions. Then let him recall the kindred spiritual sweep of the gospel, and he will at once see how the grandeur of the older scheme made Mark use our prophet's voice crying in the wilderness. Once used, its peculiar fitness insured its taking over and extension by the other three evangelists (Mark 1:3; Matthew 3:3; Luke 3:4ff; John 1:23; Is. 40:3ff).

(b) The relation of our prophet's universalism to that of the gospel has necessarily been touched upon in speaking of the spread of the latter to the Gentiles. But we may here recur to those references in connection with others. Mary's vocal outburst sings "of all generations," and cannot close without referring to Israel the servant and to Abraham and his seed forever (Luke 1:54f; Is. 41:8f). Simeon's vision of the gazing world seeing the salvation which he now sees to be beginning with the infant Jesus is another instance of the old and the new universalism in contact (Luke 2:30f; Is. 40:5; 52:10). When Jesus himself, as his life-work is closing, opens up its world-wide scope to his disciples in a fuller fashion than before, telling them of wider missionary journeys, the parallel, though farther beneath the surface, is unquestionably present (Luke 22:37; Is. 53:12).^{*} A similar reference to the universalism of his work is clearly evident in John's selection of a prophetic passage to characterize Jewish unbelief (John 12:38; Is. 53:1).^{*} When the latent universalism of the gospel began to take effect outwardly, it is interesting to find

^{*}See page 61.

Peter quoting at the home of Cornelius from our prophet's description of the far-traveled heralds as their feet upon the Judean mountains are beautiful with the message of peace (Acts 10:36; Is. 52:7). The practical universalism of Paul, in its connection with our prophet, has already been more than hinted in mentioning the second Sabbath at the Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:47; Is. 49:6). It is perhaps worthy of note, also, that when he is drawn to the same general passage (Is. 52:17) which attracted Peter, and is using it to indicate that, without distinction between Jew and Greek, no one who believes on Jesus shall be put to shame, he omits the phrase, "upon the mountains," because it localizes too much, and makes his quotation read simply, "how beautiful are the feet of them that bring glad tidings of good things." The prophet's language is scarcely universalistic here, but its general richness and breadth seem to Paul to make it excel all other expressions for the announcement of an inter-racial gospel (Rom. 10:15; Is. 52:7).

(c) The extended songs and speeches attributed to the apostles in the book of Acts contain, about all of them, a more or less clearly defined element of historic survey. It is from some kind of resumé of Hebrew history that the attempt was usually made to prove that Jesus was the Christ and the great Savior of the world. It is somewhat remarkable to find an undoubted reference to our prophet closing nearly every one of his discourses. It is as if the historic surveys and the large conclusions to be drawn from them could scarcely come to a proper climax without quoting or plainly referring to our prophet's great utterances. Mary's outburst of song reaches its close and climax not with any other of her numerous quotations, but with her reference to Abraham and his seed forever (Luke 1:54; Is. 41:8f). Peter's speech near the door Beautiful runs through its line of references to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Samuel; but its last and strongest word refers to the Servant (Acts 3:26; Is. 52:13). The long historic *résumé* at the Pisidian Antioch, comes to its climax on the second Sabbath, as we have already noted, with our prophet's "utmost parts of the earth" (Acts 13:47; Is.

49:6). At the Jerusalem conference the survey of recent gospel progress which the speeches of Peter, Barnabas, and Paul completed, was brought to its close by James' citation (Acts 15:18; Is. 45:21). It might not even be unfair to connect the Lord's reference to our prophet, which he made to Paul in the night at Corinth, with the close of an unspoken mental survey which the Apostle had been making of the recent progress of and hindrances to his work. Certainly it came at a juncture when the Apostle had been presenting to the Jews Jesus as the Christ, had left them and turned to the Gentiles, and had his mind filled with the necessity of carrying his message to a wider audience (Acts 18:5-10; Is. 43:5). It is at the very close and climax of his account of Abraham's faith and its being reckoned to him for righteousness, and of his making it an illustration of faith in Christ, that he refers to the last words of the Septuagint version of our prophet's story of the suffering Servant (Rom. 4:25; Is. 53:12). And, finally, he closes his prophetic history of Jewish rejection of the Gospel, followed by Gentile acceptance, and that in turn by a final Jewish acceptance which itself should vindicate the divine unchangeableness of God's primal plan for saving Israel, with a reference to the unsearchable riches of the divine wisdom, as suggested by our prophet (Rom. 11:34f; Is. 40:13). The almost mathematical accuracy with which our prophet's words are brought in at just about the close of all these apostolic speeches and discussions, strikes the writer as very remarkable. It may, indeed, be replied that two of the greatest speeches in the Acts, Peter's at Pentecost and Stephen's before the Sanhedrin, are exceptions. But these exceptions are apparent, rather than real. If we had followed those critics who extend the Deutero-Isaiah to the end of chapter 66, the exceptions would not have existed; for the very close of Peter's speech quotes Isaiah 57:19, and the very close of Stephen's speech, his last sentences before he turns to upbraid the Sanhedrin for being stiff-necked and uncircumcised, quote 66:1, 2; and the two citations are not only at the close of the two respective speeches, but are so closely akin to the mind of our prophet that they are frequently

attributed to him, even by critics who withhold from his authorship most of chapters 56-66.

(d) We may now group together certain apostolic enterprises and movements which are explicitly connected with passages in our prophet, while at the same time the appropriateness of the connection seems to consist almost wholly in mere general poetic largeness. Certainly the council of the Apostles at Jerusalem was concerned with an important departure, the giving of the gospel to outside nations. The issue was critical enough. Yet the passage referred to in Isaiah speaks of idolaters, not religious leaders, taking council together, and the things made known from of old are things destructive, rather than constructive. The only connection that can be made out seems to be merely that important enterprises and **historic results** are in both cases known and declared beforehand by the Lord (Acts 15:18; Is. 45:21). Very remote, also, seems the connection already mentioned between the necessity of preachers being sent to proclaim the gospel, if mankind are to hear it, and the outburst of delight in Zion at the sight of the messengers bringing news of her deliverance, a deliverance for Jews only. However, it is a great and important message in both cases, and a message implies a messenger. That is all (Rom. 10:15; Is. 52:7). It seems a far cry from saying that the Servant's work is to be so much greater than was expected that it is to make even great rulers dumb with astonishment at its success, to saying that it is an apostle's fixed principle not to preach the gospel in spiritual territory already preëmpted by the preaching of others. Nevertheless, Paul's scheme of evangelizing the Roman empire had a largeness akin to the Servant's work, and both were to reach the most distant and hitherto unevangelized districts (Rom. 15:21; Is. 52:15). It was a great and critical moment when the Apostle as an ambassador on behalf of Christ, as though God were entreating through him, besought men to be reconciled to God. It was an acceptable time and a day of salvation. Yet it was vastly different from the great crisis hour of Jehovah's offer to the exiles of a national restoration. Each, however, was a great crisis in its way, and the

two greatnesses could get in touch with each other in the Apostle's mind. (II Cor. 6:2; Is. 49:8). The summons to depart from Babylon involved a literal and physical movement very different from the moral and spiritual departure which the Apostle urged upon the Corinthians. Yet the moment was really great and critical in both cases, and the first made a good "saith the Lord" for the second. Jehovah's claim upon the nations for the restoration of the Israelites as the children of his marriage with Zion discovers a very different relation from that of God's fatherhood revealed in the Gospel. Yet the parental and filial are mentioned in the two instances, and the greatness of the two redemptions can bring them together (II Cor. 6:18; Is. 43:6). And, lastly, an appeal for a contribution to supply the need of distant believers, coupled with the promise that He who gives seed and bread will supply and multiply the giver's seed for sowing and increase the fruits of his righteousness, does not lie very near to comparing the certainty that rain will bring harvests with the certainty that God's word of promise will be fulfilled. Nevertheless, the great collection for the poor at Jerusalem was gathered from many churches through a long period of time, and was sent to a very distant point, and any great and beautiful promise made to the exiles about the time of their great deliverance, especially if its rhetoric took the form of a sending forth upon a distant mission, might be connected with the Apostle's great scheme for relieving the far off poor. Both enterprises were good and great, and God was behind them both (II Cor. 9:10; Is. 55:10).

(e) The eternal being and perpetual providence of God are mentioned with frequent iteration by the seer of the Apocalypse. For this purpose he makes much use of our prophet, referring to Isaiah 41:4 again and again (Rev. 1:4, 1:8, 11:17, 16:5, *et al.*) To express God's spirituality and universally creative power, Paul, at Athens, as we have seen, makes fundamental use of our prophet's third chapter (Acts 17:24; Is. 42:5). The deep anxiety which his own people's incredulity and criticism caused him expresses itself at one point in a reference to the Suffering Servant. It was a great and wide-

spread national incredulity toward a great message, and the Apostle's sorrow found its best expression by referring to the large and fluid language of 53:1 cf. Rom. 10:16. Again, when Paul wishes to draw in large lines the moral guilt of his people as they live among other nations everywhere, the best picture of it that he can make is a copy of that of the guilty and helpless generation of exiles in Babylon, taunted with their degradation and the powerlessness of their Jehovah, whose name was continually all the day blasphemed (Rom. 2:24; Is. 52:5). He replies to the question whether God has cast off Israel by his philosophy, already mentioned, of Israel's final conversion to the gospel, and sees his great plan lying in the eternal and secret counsels of Jehovah (Rom. 11:34f; Is. 40:13f). Finally, he cuts the knot of Israel's objection to the doing of Jehovah's work through an alien, by his well-known reference to the clay criticising the potter and the thing formed criticising him that formed it (Rom. 9:20f; Is. 45:9). Jehovah, indeed, in His absolute power and wisdom, has created those who do His temporary work of destruction as well as His work of forming and upbuilding (Rom. 9:22; Is. 54:16).

(f) It would seem quite impracticable to express the greatness of the individual Christian's conversion and privileged standing through the broad and wholesale imagery of our prophet, but the Apostles, nevertheless, do this to a considerable extent. Paul pictures a visiting stranger entering a meeting of Corinthian Christians. If he hears them talking in a medley of foreign tongues, he is likely to think them insane, but numerous and intelligible testimonies for the reality and power of the gospel will bring it home to his soul. He will be led to unbosom the inmost secrets of his heart, and will fall down and worship the God who is present with such power in the lives of his worshippers. To what can this great change in the man be compared? It is like the procession of far African nations reaching Jerusalem in chains, falling down as suppliants before restored Israel, and acknowledging the omnipotent redeeming power which Jehovah exercises over the nations for the benefit of his people (I Cor.

14:25; Is. 45:14). Regeneration itself is connected with our chapters. Our prophet has told of all flesh passing away like the withering grass and falling flower, while the word of Jehovah, his promise, and his plan are forever unchanged. The word of Jehovah is put for the word of good tidings through Jesus Christ, and this latter, because of its equal eternity and incorruptibility, begets an eternal life in those that receive it (I Pet. 1:24f; Is. 40:6-9). Peter speaks also of the ransom through Christ's death as being no narrow commercial transaction. The redemption money is not money. It is spiritual. The price paid is the priceless blood of the Lamb. In moving away from the pecuniary aspect toward that of sovereign love, Peter finds his best expression for the new ransom in our prophet's "redemption without money" (I Pet. 1:18; Is. 52:3). The great new attitude in which the Corinthian convert finds himself should change for him the aspect of the whole world. It should be as if the old environment had passed away and all things in it had been made new. To what shall this great change in outward relations be compared? It is like the great irrigation and transformation of the wilderness into one vast garden where the jackals and ostriches praise Jehovah's renewing power as the exiles pass through, homeward bound. In Christ all the illimitable reaches of the soul's landscape are irrigated into a new vernal beauty (II Cor. 5:17; Is. 43:18f). The liberty of the Christian is also brought into an interesting connection. The personification of Zion as the bride or wife, enables Paul to pass easily from Sarah as the type of a spiritual mother to Jerusalem seen in the same relation. The citizens of the great redeemed metropolis, the new children of Zion the mother, free from Babylonian oppression and reinstated in the family of the holy mistress of the world, enjoy a pure and glorious freedom. The Christian as a citizen of the Jerusalem which is from above has a freedom and a liberty from every yoke of bondage which can best be compared to that ancient freedom of triumphant reinstated Zion (Gal. 4:27; Is. 54:1). We come, finally, to the ideally exalted position of the Christian who is in such perfect mystic communion

with Christ that he has Christ's spiritual knowledge and discernment. Such a person cannot properly be judged by anyone; for whoever would assume that office must know Christ's mind and be able to pass judgment upon Him, which is absurd. And the absurdity is voiced by our prophet's exclamations upon the impossibility of knowing Jehovah's thoughts or giving Him advice. "Who hath known the mind of the Lord that he should instruct Him" (I Cor. 2: 16; Is. 40:13).

VITA.

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